The Nation

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The Week

THE President's appeal to his fellow-countrymen on Monday is fitted to do a great amount of good in all quarters. He dwells upon the things which we can do earliest and do best. Purely military preparations he passes over lightly. He takes it for granted that the navy will do efficient work. That a large army will be raised and trained he assumes. But other matters receive first consideration. And it is a consideration based upon careful thought about the best contributions the United States can make to the common cause of the Allies and ourselves. These are, manifestly, food, money, supplies, ships. This is now a commonplace of the true strategy of the situation. But Mr. Wilson expands it into useful reminders of the first and most pressing duties of Americans. They are not merely to mobilize all their resources; they are to enhance them and conserve them. The war abroad is against a visible enemy, but at home there must be no let-up in the fight against unseen foes. These are waste, indolence, greed, defective economic and industrial organization, opportunities unused or misused. For the great majority of us, here will lie the call to gird up our loins so as to do our best in support of the war. Millions who cannot fight can save, can cut down in expenditure on luxuries, can help to raise more food and mine more ore and make more steel and build more ships. President Wilson justly declares that all these activities are fully as patriotic as volunteering to carry a gun. The grand aim is to make the total power of the nation tell as heavily as may be in the war, and for a better and better organized country after the war. All our citizens can do something; and it is well that the President should emphasize and ennoble the task of those whose duty it will be to feed and clothe and equip the men who have to do the actual fighting.

NO fault can be found with the statement in regard to the censorship issued in the name of the Secretaries of State, War, and Navy: "America's great present needs are confidence, enthusiasm, and service, and these needs will not be met completely unless to every citizen is given the feeling of partnership that comes with full, frank statements concerning the conduct of the public business." To carry out this policy, there has been created a Committee on Public Information to combine the two functions of publicity and censorship, and a magazine writer and former newspaper man, George Creel, is to be executive chairman of the Committee. Whether this arrangement will do away with the necessity of legislation is not clear. It is to be hoped that it will, though there is talk that statutory authority is to be asked for it. Everything depends, of course, upon the spirit in which work of this kind is carried on. A censorship under the best and safest of laws may be perfectly odious and inimical to the best interests of the nation. On the other hand, a wise censorship under a too drastic law may offset many dangers. Much of the trouble abroad, notably in England, has been owing to downright military stupidity. If Mr. Creel shows common-sense, an appreciation of the fact that the American people must be informed to be aroused, and that legitimate editorial criticism of the Government must not be interfered with, he can render a great public service. We trust that he will be guided by the counsels of the executives of the press associations who have suffered from the blunders of the censorship abroad.

"IF the President issues a call, Delhi will be found doing her full duty"—thus writes the Delhi, N. Y., *Republican*, a typical small-town weekly, in concluding an account of a patriotic gathering to salute the flag. Delhi has recently armed, uniformed, and equipped a military company at the expense of its citizens with the idea that it will be available for the militia. But the young men of the village have not yet volunteered because they are awaiting the President's call. We commend this fact to those persons who are implying, in the interest of conscription, that volunteers cannot be obtained. Events may prove that they are correct, but the President owes it to the country to give that system a chance. Following his proclamation of Monday, there should be a brief, clear-cut call for men. Failing this, there will be no such response as would otherwise be the case. As matters now stand, it almost looks as if the Government desired that volunteering should fail through lack of publicity in order to insist upon what Australians declined to adopt by a referendum vote, and what the statesmen of Canada have not yet called upon their people to accept—conscription for overseas service.

IN favor of selective conscription the argument is being stressed that such a process alone would avoid the wasteful employment of recruits which an indiscriminate rush to the colors involves. The Philadelphia *Inquirer* is right in quoting the case of thousands of British miners who were sent into the trenches before it was discovered that they could serve the country better by staying at home and digging coal. The Hartford *Courant* cites the instance of skilled munition workers who went to the front only to be recalled after much delay and trouble. But what these arguments overlook is the fact that selection can just as well be applied to volunteers as to conscripts. England during the early months of the war would have made the same mistake if she had conscripted her men instead of calling for them. For the simple fact is that during the early months of the war its lessons were not understood. Only after trench warfare was established did the importance of limitless munitions loom up. Only after the war had dragged out for more than a year was it recognized that there must be an organization of the nation behind the army. It was only in the third year of the war that Germany herself set to creating her civic army. These lessons we are profiting by to-day. The emphasis already laid on the food problem, on the shipping problem, on the industrial problem, shows it plainly. The lesson learned, there is no reason why we cannot recruit as wisely as we can conscript.

ON the same day on which he accepted the chairmanship of the new American Food Board, Mr. Hoover

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set to work with a fully organized and expert staff at the point where his work naturally begins. His survey of European conditions, prospects, and arrangements with respect to food supply, to be carried out by relief officials who have quitted Belgium and who have the confidence of the British, French, and Italian Governments, looks towards a double object. He will estimate the necessary imports of the Allies in order to direct consumption here into channels where it will least interfere with the European supply, and to facilitate exportation of what is most required abroad; and he will study European methods of conserving and controlling food with an eye to application here. Mr. Hoover's equipment is remarkable in two ways. He is not only a gifted and experienced organizer, with special training in handling food problems for a large population. He has also peculiar advantages in facing the task of coördinating American and European resources, for he knows Europe under war conditions as few others. His experience speaks in his declaration that common-sense will effect much more in America than sumptuary laws. Certainly the four main proposals he makes tentatively, for the stimulation of production, the stopping of food-waste, the punishment of speculation, and the cutting off of indirect supplies to Germany, demand no large body of legislation.

MR. HOOVER'S careful statement as to food costs, that we need "methods to reduce them and maintain more reasonable prices," is worth the attention of individuals and societies who have been talking loosely of the fixing of prices by the Government. Recommendations for direct regulation of prices by nation or State display not merely an amazing carelessness of the economic difficulties and administrative complexities and hardships wrapped up in such a task. They display an equally amazing ignorance of the sound steps which may be taken short of the pinning of price tags on meat, grain, and vegetables. The penalizing of speculative profiteering, the establishment of terminal markets, the encouragement of direct interchange between consumer and producer, enlarged warehousing facilities, improved transportation, are all better objects of governmental attention. A number of cities have shown within the last six months that there is no more effective way of reducing prices than by cities themselves going into the business of buying food in bulk; it is a way that works injustice to no one. Price-fixing would run the risk of paring rates to a point discouraging the farmer's effort. It would always be opposed by farmers except by some who might hope to see passed Armour's proposed law for a minimum rate of $1.50 a bushel for wheat!

WITH Gen. Goethals at his new office under the Shipping Board, and the Board preparing to form a $50,000,000 corporation this week, Chairman William Denman's plans for building from 800 to 1,000 wooden ships of from 3,000 to 4,000 tonnage within the next sixteen months are assuming definite shape. Work can be started with the new corporation's initial capital, and if more is needed to finance yards it can be had under legislation which Congress is expected to pass authorizing an increase in stock issues up to $225,000,000. Goethals will have models in plenty from which to work; the *Marine Journal* states that on the Pacific Coast alone 68 wooden vessels of 88,563 tons are under construction. The country should have no trouble in furnishing the ships, exclusive of machinery. There were years previous to the Civil War in which our output of wooden ships exceeded 500,000 tons. Shipbuilding was then the twelfth of our industries, and New England pine and oak and Southern live oak and cedar were used in great quantities; the size of the vessels rose above 4,000 tons, though as they did so more iron was used in their hulls and for braces and rigging. We still have almost unlimited quantities of timber, with knowledge how to combine steel and wood. The Shipping Board professes confidence in its ability to solve the harder problem of finding machinery for a thousand ships as they are built, and doubtless rests this confidence on the assurance of machinery makers.

CONGRESSMAN WEBB'S assurances that the final draft of the Espionage bill will be so clarified as to take out the objectionable features, which have rightly been characterized as "Prussian measures," would be more convincing were it not for the fact that the bill was amended in the last Congress only to be reintroduced in this one with the same offensive provisions which the original draft contained. This time it is to be hoped that the excisions will be thoroughgoing and will bear out the promise of Mr. Webb that the freest possible debating of the war will be permitted to our citizens. It would be monstrous, indeed, if in going into this war on behalf of world-democracy, some of the most fundamental rights of free Americans should be taken away from them, after the finest Prussian manner. Why the American Department of Justice, which is responsible for this bill, should show such reactionary tendencies, we cannot understand, any more than we can fathom the White House's refusal to insist that it be amended in accord with historic American tradition. One word from Mr. Wilson would settle it.

THE Bond Issue bill, as passed by the House on Saturday, is in form a general vote of credit, covering no specified period, but "to meet expenditures authorized for the national security and defence." It authorizes "borrowing from time to time," and therefore does not appear to contemplate an immediate issue of the $5,000,000,000 bonds named in the act. In this implication, it accords with sound financial judgment, which has wholly deprecated the offering at this present time of a single loan for so great an amount. The interest rate is not to exceed 3½ per cent. As was expected, $3,000,000,000 of the authorized total is prescribed for use in advances to our Allies against their own bonds of similar amount, bearing a similar interest rate; and for that purpose the Secretary of the Treasury is "to enter into such arrangements as may be necessary or desirable for establishing such credits and for purchasing such obligations of foreign governments, and for the subsequent repayment thereof." Our own new bonds will carry the "conversion privilege" employed in England's war borrowings, whereby the bonds may be exchanged for any other bonds issued during the war at a higher rate. The foreign obligations held must on such occasions similarly increase their interest rate. A further issue of bonds is authorized to cover appropriations already made for various purposes, and, as a part of the finance plan, issue of Treasury bills, at not more than 3½ per cent. and for not more than one year, is authorized up to $2,000,000,000.

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SOME questions are left open by the text of the bill as it passed the House. The paragraph authorizing one-year Treasury bills makes no reference to the customary limitation prescribing use of such issues (as in England) purely in anticipation of tax collections or funded loans—which has led the newspapers to assume that the total war indebtedness contemplated is $7,000,000,000, not $5,000,000,000. That is clearly a misapprehension. The British Exchequer is to-day using the proceeds of its recent $5,000,000,000 war loan to redeem and cancel the very large amount of Treasury bills issued in anticipation of it. The paragraph authorizing loans to the Allies undoubtedly has in view the financing of their necessary purchases of material in this country; but that fact is not stated in the text, and the Treasury ought at any rate to make clear its plans and purposes in that regard. The vote of credit is necessarily incomplete without the tax proposals. It was sound finance to begin, as all the belligerent states have done, with provision for governmental borrowing, and no one of any experience is likely to take seriously the random proposal to make this a "pay-as-you-enter" war. But taxation ought nevertheless to bear its just and equitable part of the burden, and some sort of comprehensive war budget should be submitted by the Treasury.

AUSTRIA'S diplomatic break with the United States was pretty clearly at the demand of her ally, Germany. The Austrian Government itself has shown a desire to avoid a breach with this country. And our State Department, as is plain from the statement made public, would have welcomed the maintenance of friendly relations, if only Austria had been willing to give up for herself unrestricted submarine warfare. As Vienna could not bring itself to that, Washington would not receive Ambassador Tarnowski, and thereupon Austria took the initiative in breaking off relations altogether. In this action she was more loyal, or more subservient, to Germany than Germany was to her after Italy had begun war upon Austria. For a long time, the German Government kept up the fiction of being at peace with Italy. Apparently, the rule of the Triple Alliance doesn't work the same both ways.

BRAZIL'S break with Germany means another big debit item on the German balance-sheet. The submarine investment is rapidly proving a losing enterprise. It has brought the United States into the war against Germany. It has caused Brazil to break off relations, with a declaration of war probably to follow, while other South American republics are intensified in their opposition to Germany. All the while, the main object professed—that of starving England into surrender after six weeks or two months of sinking everything in sight—is seen to be less and less attainable. After two months and a half, England is fighting with more energy than ever, and her carriers of food and munitions ply the seas. All told, a sober stock-taking by the German authorities would show them that of all their blunders since August 1, 1914, the ruthless use of submarines was the worst. Even the afterthought argument that, at any rate, German tonnage would be ready for instant and advantageous use after the war is made to appear hollow by the taking possession of German ships all over the world. As private property they will, of course, be paid for, some day, but Germany will be deprived of their use. Only last week a German technical publication admitted that, if the submarine campaign failed, Germany was "lost." It has already failed. And Germans see nation after nation arraying itself against them. Even German pride and unyielding devotion to the Fatherland cannot forever be blind to the mounting proof that Germany cannot hope to win.

THE indictment of the paper manufacturers was a foregone conclusion. There is no doubt that there has been a getting together to fix prices, and that the rate named was far beyond the reasonable increase the manufacturers were entitled to charge. Meetings were held at which no minutes were kept. Not that the manufacturers have not had substantial grievances. The lack of labor in Canada because of the war increased costs of certain materials, and other circumstances fully warranted, as the Federal Trade Commission pointed out, an increase in the price of paper to $2.50 per hundredweight. Had these particular paper-makers stopped there, they would not be in their present legal difficulties. Instead, besides putting the price up to $3.10, they transferred to the newspapers all costs of freight and handling. Some firms, to their credit be it said, did not take part in this, notably the Great Northern Paper Company, which has continued to serve its customers at the old figures, at which it has no trouble in earning a fair return upon the capital invested. Those who have been indicted are also charged with having deliberately determined to shut off any increased production, although they must have foreseen the great demand from South America for paper to take the place of that received from Europe in time of peace. Finally, it remains to be said that it is the Government itself, and not the newspapers, which originated the prosecutions, and that the outcome still further enhances the value of the Sherman act as a bulwark of legitimate business.

The Allied Attack

"ON the Aisne a great French attempt to break through, with a far-distant object, has commenced." In this statement, contained in a Berlin official report, there is a confession. The emptiness of the explanations offered to the German people for the great retreat from the Somme is now revealed. The avowed purpose of that retirement was to nullify the long-laid plans of the Allies for a grand offensive. The surrender of 800 square miles of territory was not too big a price for the waste of months of preparation imposed upon the Allies, for the delay of months before another attack could be got under way. The German people were invited to take comfort in the spectacle of Haig and Nivelle biting their fingers in vexation. The battle of Arras was part of the British rejoinder. The battle on the Aisne on Monday was Nivelle's reply. A great French attempt, as Berlin describes it, plainly argues something more than a hasty rearrangement of plans after the disappointment on the Somme. A "far-distant object" plainly forecasts a long and bitter battle. Berlin now faces the dilemma of admitting that Hindenburg's "touch" did not frustrate the Allied plan, or else that within the space of a month the Allies have been able to readjust their plans without loss of driving power. In either case the profit of the strategic retirement fades out of sight.

The story of the last five weeks may be summed up as follows: There began about March 10 a German retire-

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ment in the region of the Ancre, which, spreading rapidly to north and south, attained a total front of eighty miles from Arras to Vailly, near the Aisne. Up to nine days ago the Allied operations consisted entirely in following up the retreating enemy, rapidly at first, more slowly as the new permanent line of the Germans was approached, and the need arose for bringing up the heavy guns. Then, on Monday, April 9, the British attacked north of Arras, outside the northern pivot on which the German arc was swinging back. The object, of course, was simple. In such an extended backward swing as the Germans were carrying through, the strain was heaviest on the hinges, and, naturally, the best opportunity for the enemy was to strike at the most delicate part of the German machinery, at the joint in the armor. Just a week later the French delivered a hammer blow at the southern pivot of the German arc. But while the main effort, by both the British and the French, was directed just outside the front of the German retirement, pressure has been also continued within the arc of the German retreat. The British have been striking south of the Scarpe and as far down as St. Quentin. The French have been striking north of Soissons and as far up as St. Quentin. In other words, the operation as a whole is like pushing in a locked door by a steady thrust against the woodwork while hammer blows are falling on the hinges and the lock itself. This door in the west is now 120 miles wide.

Taking the battle of Arras in conjunction with the battle now developing between Soissons and Rheims, we find it to be a return to the Allied offensive scheme of a year and a half ago, when the French attacked in the Champagne while the British struck out for Lens and fought the sanguinary battle of Loos. At two points more than 100 miles apart the Allies attempted then to saw through the German beam, with the idea that success would mean the collapse of the entire intervening section. Neither attempt, Champagne or Loos, was successful, but whereas the French failure was due to the inherent difficulties of the task, the British failure was due to poor workmanship. It was probably recognition of the fact that the British were not expert enough to operate for themselves that brought about the plan of the Somme, in which the French and English armies fought shoulder to shoulder. To-day we find the main effort of the British and French being directed once more at an interval of nearly one hundred miles. By this time the British armies have learned their trade and can be trusted to shift for themselves. The earlier plan of offensive offers this advantage that the enemy is not allowed to concentrate his attention along a single front, as at the Somme. He must now watch his line in Flanders and Belgium simultaneously with the line on the Aisne and in Champagne. Whereas on the Somme the Germans had only to hold out, to-day they must think as well as fight back.

Measured by the results of the first day's fighting, the French attack of Monday was not so sharp a blow as Haig's stroke north of Arras. Along a front only half that on which Nivelle hit out, Haig a week ago took almost as many prisoners. The French report speaks only of the penetration of the German first line, whereas in Champagne in 1915 the first dash carried Pétain's troops up to the third German line, against which the attack spent itself. The harvest of prisoners in the Champagne was two and a half times as heavy. But whereas the Champagne fighting, given the British failure at Loos, was a restricted operation, the advance by the French on Monday must be taken in conjunction with the British pressure in Flanders and with all sorts of possibilities along the original front of the German retreat from Arras to Soissons. With lighter initial gains Nivelle's attack is probably the prelude to an extensive movement such as the German statement of a "far-distant object" would indicate. Thus much is certain, that Nivelle's success, following close on Haig's, must force a revision of German confidence in the concrete trenches of the Hindenburg line. The elaborate dug-outs are now turning out to be man-traps, while on the other hand the superior Allied artillery reduces the price which the assailants have hitherto had to pay even for partial success. To-day the Allies are throwing more men and guns than they ever had before against German trenches which are not so formidable as they used to be.

Kitchener on Conscription

EVEN at a time when Lord Northcliffe looms up as the master strategist of the war as well as its greatest statesman, it may not be amiss to recall what another Englishman in his day thought of the problems of a war with which he stood in fairly intimate connection. We mean Lord Kitchener. There has just been published in London and this country the Lord Kitchener Memorial Book (George H. Doran Company), to which the contributors are men who were close partners with Kitchener in his work—Lord Derby, Sir Hedley Le Bas, who conducted the extraordinary advertising campaign for recruits, and, among others, the Marquis de Chasseloup Laubat, who after November, 1914, represented the French Government at London as technical expert in the broad field of military coördination between the two Governments. In the course of many intimate conversations with Kitchener the question of recruiting naturally came up. From this point we may quote:

> Like all men who have carefully studied the history of the French army, he [Kitchener] knew that my father was the statesman who in 1871 and 1872 drew up the first French universal conscription law; he therefore often spoke to me of that subject, and was especially anxious to know whether I had confidential information as to the length of time the French considered necessary in 1871 for a general conscription law to produce serious results; and he was most interested when I explained to him the reasons why the answer was *about seventeen years*.
>
> From what he told me, he seems to have come to the conclusion that in England conscription must necessarily come sooner or later—*but the later the better*.
>
> On the whole, it seems that Kitchener and the British Government acted wisely in not hurriedly taking a step of which the premature adoption might have brought many more and far greater evil results than good.

Kitchener's public views on the subject were given in the course of two speeches in the House of Lords in favor of the Conscription bill. On January 5, 1916, he said:

> So far we have been able to provide for the largest increase of the army and its maintenance on a purely voluntary system, and I, personally, had always hoped that we should be able to finish the war successfully without changing that system, which has done so well and which has given us such splendid material in the field. I do not consider that the change proposed should be regarded in the light of any derogation of the principle of voluntary service in this country. It only affects, during the period of the war, one class of men, among whom there are

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undoubtedly a certain number who have but a poor idea of their duties as citizens.

On May 23 Kitchener said in the House of Lords:

> The conviction is deeply and universally felt that we have engaged in a just war, and the patriotism of our people gave us, under the voluntary system, a far larger army than we could ever have contemplated. This bill will enable us to maintain its numbers in a manner and degree not hitherto possible.

These are not the words of a visionary or a fanatic. When the volunteer system had yielded all the service it was capable of rendering, Kitchener was ready to try something else. But his tribute to the volunteer system, even when he was compelled to look for ways to supplement voluntaryism, his insistence on the validity of the principle of the volunteer service, his praise for the splendid armies the nation had put into the field, may well be contrasted with the swift and damning sentence passed upon voluntary service by the mobilized newspaper strategists of our own country. Kitchener built up his armies out of the spirit of service and enthusiasm, and resorted to conscription to keep the armies going. With us, we are told, it should be the other way about; we should begin to build our new armies out of the slacker.

When Kitchener accepted conscription, it was as a temporary war measure. This professional soldier certainly could have had no empty fears of militarism. Only Kitchener, being a professional, thought coolly instead of in headlines. He would have been incapable of the extraordinary reasoning which maintains among us to-day that volunteer service will not give us a fighting army, but that Roosevelt can take a volunteer force of men over and under the fixed volunteer age, and have it ready for the trenches in a couple of months. The truth is that Kitchener faced his problem not only as a soldier, but as an Englishman. As such it was impossible to him that a national tradition bred into the very bone of the people should crumble before the first severe test. A professional English soldier consented only with reluctance to compromise a great civic tradition, and then only as little as might be. But with us it has come almost overnight that all this prating about militarism and democracy is nonsense, and that Americanism should all along have spelled conscription.

Socialists and the War

THE Socialist party in the United States has not escaped the sword which the war thrust into the vitals of organized Socialism in Europe. Here, too, there have been sharp divisions. The Socialist candidate for the Presidency, last year, along with several other leaders of the party, has issued a statement in support of the war against Germany. Yet the official convention of the Socialist party at St. Louis adopted resolutions declaring "unalterable opposition" to the war, and reaffirming "allegiance to the principle of internationalism and working-class solidarity the world over." How far this action is truly representative, it is difficult to say. It appears to be the work chiefly of the small group of thorough-going Marxians who are now in control of the party machinery. Nevertheless, the attitude of these men, pathetically futile as it plainly will be, is one which they are within their rights as Americans in announcing. So long as their opposition to the war is kept abstract, and does not lead to any acts hampering or withstanding the Government in the prosecution of the war, it is to be accepted as a part of that freedom of opinion which we bought at a great price.

Reaffirmation by Socialists of internationalism, and of the solidarity of workingmen everywhere, has necessarily to-day a melancholy sound. It echoes the failure of high hopes at the beginning of the war in Europe. That fraternization between peoples which the Socialists had preached for years; their threats to paralyze the war lords by strikes or refusal to do military service; above all, that propaganda of peace to which the Socialist party professed to be devoted—all this structure fell with a crash the moment war was declared. The international Socialists became in a twinkling intense nationalists. German Socialists vied with the French in voting war credits and in flocking to the colors. The dream of peace securely built on Socialist doctrines vanished like the morning mist. It is thus at once a perfunctory and a sorrowful act of the American Socialist party to hark back at this time to the frustrated expectations and the shattered plans of 1914.

Since the revolution in Russia, German Socialists have been hard put to it. This is because their main original reason, or excuse, for supporting the Kaiser in the war has been destroyed by the coming of a Russian republic. In the last days of July, 1914, the Socialists of Germany were meeting and protesting against the war. In a gathering at Brussels on July 29, the leader of the Social-Democratic party, Herr Haase, declared that the Austrian ultimatum was a deliberate provocation to a needless war; yet the same man, on August 4, asserted in the Reichstag that the Government could count upon the support of the Socialists, since it was necessary to save civilization "menaced by Russian despotism." This was, in fact, an old resort. Marx himself pointed out as long ago as 1859 that the way for German Socialists to remain "patriotic" was to "emphasize the opposition to Russia." And throughout the first two years of the present war the constant cry was that the Social-Democratic party must war against "Czarism." Well, Czarism has now fallen in a heap. The first pretences—or sincere reasons, if you please—of the German Socialists have been destroyed. What are they to do now?

The answer is seen in the "mission" which German Socialists promptly undertook. Scheidemann and Südekum and the others set out for Copenhagen and Zurich and Amsterdam. Their scarcely concealed purpose was to get into touch with Russian *émigrés*, or, through intermediaries, with Russian Socialists. But there can be little doubt that this was not in the interest of Socialism, as such. An errand for the German Government was being undertaken. Just as the Socialist party had become an open supporter of the Chancellor and even of von Tirpitz's submarine policy, so in the coming of the Russian crisis—for it was critical for the German Government—the German Socialists again offered their services. They have pretty plainly been working for a separate peace with Russia; and as a means to that end have hoped to bring about dissensions among the Russian revolutionists, and in general to create troubled waters in which German diplomacy might fish. Apparently, they have had small success. Their failure will further discredit their party as the champion of internationalism and working-class solidarity.

Even the extreme radicals among them, the very "reds" of the organization, have gone great lengths during the

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war in accepting absolutism in Germany as a necessity. "It is the Empire," asserted the Socialist Deputy, W. Heine, at Stuttgart, early in the war, "which we must make the basis of our political action." Every word against the Imperial Government was "wicked." Wicked also were all threats of "revolution." This was in 1915; but it still has its light to throw upon the question whether the Russian example may be imitated in Germany. Writing on this subject in the *New Europe* of March 29, George Saunders argues that the lack of political training in Germany, along with the inbred submissiveness of the vast majority of the citizens, makes any revolutionary movement highly improbable. Another reason is that, if the Socialists are helping the Government, the Government has shown itself conciliatory towards the Socialists. The Kaiser has been trimming his sails to the new set of the wind. He discovers that one of the political reforms for which the Social-Democratic party has agitated is "near his heart." It is not inconceivable that, if riotous demonstrations occurred in Berlin, he might echo the words of his ancestor, Frederick William IV, who in 1848 addressed the mob as his "beloved Berliners." Certain it is that the Russian revolution has made it impossible for the Emperor William to repeat the language he used in 1901, when opening the new barracks of the Alexander Guards regiment:

> It is the mission of the Emperor Alexander Regiment to be prepared day and night like a bodyguard, ready to stake its lifeblood for the King and his House, should occasion arise. And if ever again in this city times like those [March, 1848] should return—times of rebellion against the Sovereign, then, I am convinced, the Alexander Regiment will repress all insubordination and unseemly behavior towards its King.

Increasing Farm Production

THE zeal with which the country is addressing itself to the problem of greater production of food finds daily some such expression as in the Washington meeting last week of the National Agricultural Society. Its importance is fully understood; though there seems now a confusion of voices, there is no doubt that effort will be largely well directed. The principal requirements for 1917 will be labor, of which the farmer always feels a stringency, and the capital needed for seed and machinery. In all parts of the country there is much unused land, and existing prices, prospective needs, and patriotic feeling will impel its utilization wherever men and money can be found. Herbert Quick states that the Federal Farm Quick Loan Board has perfected plans for lending $200,000,000 to the farmers to stimulate the production of food. In some localities capitalists are taking steps to help. As for labor, we hear already many suggestions, from that for the immediate graduation of 16,000 agricultural college seniors to one for the recruiting for the farms by Federal officers of an army of millions unfit for military service.

It would be a mistake to give the impression that we are facing a desperate emergency, or to minimize our resources. The crop-year should be regarded with full hopefulness, for the best steps will be not panicky ones, but such as fall in with various large-scale plans for increasing food production which have been long under way. The Department of Agriculture has just declared in its 1916 report that "with all the agencies now available for improving agriculture, there is ground for optimism as to the ability of the nation not only to supply itself with food, but increasingly to meet the needs of the world." It has been shown in figures issued by Assistant Secretary Vrooman that, fast as our population has grown between 1890 and 1916, food-production has almost or quite kept pace with it. At the beginning of the period we were raising three and a third billion bushels of corn, wheat, and rice, and at its close over four billion; at the beginning we were raising 275 million bushels of potatoes, and at its close 360 million; at the beginning we were raising less than 200 million bushels of orchard fruit, and at its end over 300 million; while the production of beet sugar rose from less than a half million pounds to over two million. Production of beef has been rising since 1913, and production of swine has increased since 1900. The report on winter wheat just issued is alarming, but less so when we remember that in the northern part of the winter-wheat area spring wheat can be sown, and in the southern part oats and corn may replace it. In 1915, a bumper year, we raised 356,000,000 bushels of spring wheat, and with effort and a favorable season this may be equalled. The present indications are for a winter wheat crop of 430,000,000 bushels, so that a total of 800,000,000 bushels is still possible. "Mobilization" of farm effort is, thanks to the Federal Government and State agricultural colleges, easier than ever before.

The production of corn in the South has long been on the increase; that of small grains has expanded in some States since the cotton-market crisis of 1914 by from 50 to 100 per cent. Our effort should be mobilized behind this diversification of Southern crops—behind the growing of durum wheat on semi-arid lands of the Dakotas, Montana, Wyoming, and Colorado which till the development of this grain, of which we now reap 40 million bushels, were of little use; behind sugar-beet growing, which since 1912 has increased by 30 per cent. and is capable of great expansion still; behind the growing of more rice in Texas and California, and of more forage crops throughout the Southwest. All these movements steadily increase the areas of crop-production. Of hardly less importance is the encouragement given the raising of swine in the South, cattle-raising everywhere, and sheep-raising on the ordinary well-cultivated farm of the Eastern and North Central States. Dairying is largely dependent upon the organization of community cow-testing, creamery, and marketing organizations, which State action can stimulate. It is well known that the use of vegetables has enormously increased in recent years through the stimulus of better facilities of marketing, canning, and transportation. If concerted effort is made to employ children and others upon waste land in or near towns and cities, greater quantities of vegetables than ever before could find a ready market. Travelling Federal agents, the county agents of which the South has more than 1,100 and the North nearly 500, and existing and newly employed State and college agents could assist in all this work.

To obtain labor for garden enterprises near cities will be easy. The real problem is to find it for the great farm areas on which we hope to see sowing and reaping both more extensively and more intensively conducted. Common-sense dictates that enlistment in the army shall not touch experienced farm-hands; even so, the supply of farm labor will be reduced by the enrolling of college students and floating laborers. When we reflect that the last census showed some twelve and

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a half million people working all the farms of America, it is clear that the addition or subtraction of a half-million men might well mean success or disaster to our farm production. Plans for the virtual conscription of men and youths for farm labor are altogether too radical. But State employment agencies and agricultural departments can coöperate to place city laborers and city youths on farms. State labor agents of the Middle West have made a huge success of their plan of moving an army of laborers north from Texas to Canada as the wheat ripens, and can extend this endeavor. Scores of American cities can do as well as Toronto, which is organizing 5,000 men and boys for summer farm work, and can follow other Canadian cities by sending clerks to the farms for their vacations.

More Supreme Court Decisions

THAT the Supreme Court will not permit a narrow, legalistic interpretation of the Constitution to stand in the way of legislation demanded by changed economic and social conditions, is the implication of its decisions last week. The meagre reports from Washington shed little light on the Court's reasoning. The minimum-wage case, owing to Mr. Justice Brandeis's non-participation, resulted in an equal division of the Court, and consequently no opinion. The ten-hour case, however, was won by a clear majority of 5 to 3.

It will be recalled that the point at issue in the first case was the right of Oregon to specify a minimum-wage less than which it became illegal for the employer to pay and for the worker to receive. This was based on a careful survey, resulting in the report that at least one-half of the workers were actually receiving less than this and were compelled to turn to other means to make up the deficit. Under-nourishment, bad housing conditions, insufficient medical care, were so widespread as to threaten the safety of the coming generation. There was a lowering of moral standards. "All that we call civilized life drifted gradually towards degradation." Competition ceases to be a public protection when the competitors are of unequal strength. Yet, in default of law, this is all that the worker has to rely on. Was the "due process" clause to apply to the fiction of taking away the personal liberty of the employee and the property of the employer, or to the fact of widespread want caused by the ineffectiveness of competition to obtain for women-workers conditions compatible with maintaining their health and efficiency? On the one hand was the economic theory that wages are apportioned according to the productivity of the worker; on the other was the social fact which had brought about an intolerable situation.

The ten-hour case presented a similar problem, but more far-reaching, if possible, than the other. Women have long been treated as a special class, subject to peculiar protection from the law. Even men have been so protected in industries involving conditions especially dangerous to health and vitality. But this act provided for the limitation of *all* workers to the ten-hour day. It, indeed, permitted three hours' overtime, but discouraged the abuse of this privilege by a mandatory payment of one-and-a-half the regular wages. It was based on the general principle that long hours are *in themselves* hazardous to the maintenance of normal conditions. These propositions were substantiated by an imposing array of evidence gathered from many countries. Especially convincing was the experience in England since the outbreak of the war, that persistent long hours have led to staleness and increased sickness. In the interest of efficiency alone, this has caused the reduction of hours to the point which could be normally maintained. "It is now manifest that it is not a contest between capital and labor. The State as an organic whole is concerned." That the Supreme Court should have set aside the precedents based on past conditions, and courageously permitted new theories of law to meet the new economic facts, will greatly stimulate those who have borne the burden of creating a public appreciation of the human element in modern industry.

These decisions come at a peculiarly appropriate moment, when there is a strong movement under way to relax during the period of the war the safeguards which have been built up to protect the interests of labor. Only last week the Consumers' League issued a solemn warning against disregarding the experience of the last twenty-five years, during the stress of the national emergency. These safeguards, involving sanitation and safety devices, as well as normal hours, have been the fruit of patient scientific investigation and demonstration. While they may at times, under careful restrictions, be set aside on the ground of extraordinary emergency, yet any general slackening could not fail to entail harmful results.

France and England at One

I WAS present lately at a conversation in which an intelligent American unwittingly shocked the sensibilities of a few Parisians, French or Americans like himself. He said stoutly: "The idea that anything permanent can come out of this war union among the Allies is preposterous. England may have some common interests with Russia, but how are you going to make France and England keep united? The two peoples have totally different ways of getting at things and will never work together." A little more and he would have applied literature to exemplify his meaning:

East is East and West is West and never the twain shall meet.

However plausibly such a view may be amplified, it is solely literature and it can only delude. That we can put different literary labels on French and English peoples and their habits of thought and action is one thing. The interaction of their community life and of the national societies in which their communities are organized is quite another. Americans may not realize, because they have not noticed in practice, how united the community action of the two nations was becoming even before the war. Now their need of each other will last indefinitely, and it will be impossible for any other people to supply to either the essential help which both receive from their union. What is more, such union is not the result of any deliberate policy dictated and directed by statesmen of the two countries. It comes from that spontaneous and vital breathing together which circumstances have forced on the two peoples and which, in old theories of the state, is the very definition of human community—*conspiratio in unum.*

The present financial union of France and England is a good instance. Of the American billion dollars in gold

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which the Allies have brought to the United States for their war purchases, one-half, that is, two and a half French milliards (2,500,000,000 francs), has come from the bank of France. Italy and Russia have contributed fractions of relative importance, also flowing originally from the Bank of France. Far the greater portion of this second half is, however, the direct contribution of the Bank of England.

Without the Bank of France, the Bank of England could not have turned on such a flow of gold. Without the Bank of England, there would have been no stream or proper channel in which the gold should flow out to American markets. It has been the same with the pledging of American securities owned in England and France as bases of gold credits in the United States—but of these it was England that had the greater part as well as the mechanism or canal of transmission. The two nations together have been sufficient to finance the war, and neither could have done it without the other.

It is forgotten that this financial union, which is now and henceforward indispensable to the independent existence of the two countries, has been long working up, perhaps even without any clear-sighted knowledge of the very financiers who stood by and took part in it. Thirty years ago nearly, the Bank of France sent over gold in boxes to meet English troubles of the Baring Brothers and the Argentine. The boxes were brought back to Paris unopened, their presence alone at the seat of difficulties having been sufficient. Ten years ago all America reeled with financial panic, and again the Bank of France, contrary to precedent, opened its discounts to sterling bills for the Bank of England. The late Pierpont Morgan could not understand how his individual credit should not be as good.

The truth is that, since the enforcement of the gold standard, the business of the world, that is, the existence of nations, stands or falls with the open gold market and the open market of securities which ground gold credits—and this market is London. And it further depends on liquid gold, of which Paris has the reserve and the command. This was so before the war; it is so now; it will continue after war is over. The Bank of France and the Bank of England have come to be and are now and shall remain the centre of their peoples' material activities, and no migration of gold across oceans or continents can change this strength of theirs—so long as they stand united. It is a like situation to that which has perpetuated Federal America—"United we stand, divided we fall."

The many-volumed questions concerning this financial union which has thus risen spontaneously between France and England are clearly too recondite for literature. Another close union between the two countries, which also came into being long before the war, seems likewise to have escaped record in history. It is, in the full sense of the word, a political union.

It is not beyond remembrance that, from the entrance of the English into Alexandria and the overthrow of Arabi Pasha until the dark days of Fashoda, Bismarck's policy of pitting England and France against each other in North Africa was likely to prove successful. With the acceptance of Fashoda by France there came a sudden change—and with it a change in human history. Besides Tunis, which was not then absolutely necessary to her, Morocco, which was indispensable to the safety of her frontier, fell to France with England's willing aid—not twenty years after Lord Salisbury's vision of the future had been troubled by that "storm-point" for England.

I wonder if it is known how completely the land and the populations of North Africa—Tunis, Algiers, and Morocco from Casablanca to Fez—have become prosperous and French. Where the Tunis coast bends down, from Sousse to Sfax and back to holy Kairouan, there are now growing, under French rule, 18,000,000 olive trees where Roman rule, after centuries of peace, had 40,000,000 only. No one is astonished to see Kabyles of pure Berber race now sweeping the streets of Paris; they were already coming by tens of thousands to French harvest fields. So, at the fighting front, Senegalese, Moroccan volunteers, and Algerians stand and fall together with Frenchmen in the life and death struggle. The United States have grown into one nation and nearly into one people on the old principle that where one is well off there is one's fatherland—*ubi bene ibi Patria.* So the greater France has come into being across the Mediterranean.

What is more to our present purpose is that this greater France is necessary to the existence and defence of the greater England. Without Egypt, India might be no longer British. Without the French protectorate from Tunis to Morocco, that is, without France relieved from the danger of another war frontier, England in Egypt and in the No Man's Land of the Sudan and from the Cape to Cairo might not have become realities that endure. Here, too, are many volumes yet to be written, but material for them is extant in negotiations and agreements and treaties of the past twenty years, beginning with late Hanotaux and early Delcassé. The result is the strongest kind of union, after finance, that can exist between two nations situated as are France and England—and it is a truly political rather than a merely colonial union.

The great objection of those who use literature to reason against any permanent union between the two peoples is the apparent impossibility of any economic union. This is based solely on general views of industrial interests, unbiassed by knowledge of particular facts or the agricultural and mineral union already existing. No one supposes that France and England will proclaim a customs union, that England will give up free trade which, to a certain point, is a part of her carrying trade, or that France will abandon the protection which has secured intensive cultivation of her soil and the self-sustaining of her people. The community of economic interests exists of itself, independent of all deliberate policy. Germany, by ruthless enforcement of the most favored nation privileges which she had wrenched from France in the Treaty of Frankfort, was by way of gaining a predominance in French trade without reciprocity. War was not needed for more spontaneous sharing with each other on a footing of equality by France and England. The spontaneous, not the forced, growth endures.

Much might be said of the extension of such spontaneous growth between nations from England and France to Spain and Italy. It is already being accomplished; it is not the result of deliberative policy, it is the natural uprising of nations with common humanities for their common protection and welfare. It is the Latin civilization coming again to its own. And why shall nations like England and France, having saved their souls alive with each other's help, not walk on still holding hands? STODDARD DEWEY

Paris, March 17

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China's Coming of Age

CHINA'S projected entrance into the war is a political, if not a military, event of far-reaching significance. Coming almost simultaneously with the Russian Revolution, it signalizes a readjustment of political power in the Far East which is almost a new chapter in diplomatic history. With Russia no longer to be counted on to connive at its dismemberment, with Japan ignored in a capital move of foreign policy, sympathizers with the Chinese Republic may well offer their congratulations upon a new lease of Chinese independence.

Americans should particularly take heart at China's frank and spontaneous association of her foreign policy with our own. She has broken with Germany over exactly the same issue which caused the break with us—the extension of the submarine warfare. Through three periods of her recent political history, the Allies have been trying to tempt China out of her neutrality. While Yuan Shi-Kai was a strong President in 1914-15, Japan's sinister ultimatum, following the capture of Kiaochow, effectually stifled the pro-Ally leanings of his conservative Government. During the Imperial fiasco of 1915-16, which ended in Yuan's disgrace and death, China had all she could think of to save the republic from Mandarin plotters and their foreign advisers. The breathing space of political truce which has followed she has spent in reconstituting Parliamentary government. That the Allies took advantage of this return of stability and redoubled their efforts for China's intervention on their behalf is now well known. But it was our invitation that she accepted; our issue that she took up; and it is virtually in partnership with us that she contemplates entering the arena of the war.

This makes it all the more significant that China's purposes in becoming a belligerent are such that Americans in particular can cordially approve. Her direct grievance, Germany's submarine depredations on peaceful shipping, is, for instance, by no means the mere paper pretext that the world seems to regard it. It is a long-standing injury. Upwards of two hundred helpless Chinese seamen and stokers had been killed by February 1 this year on neutral as well as on belligerent merchant ships. The British steamer Harpalyce, recently torpedoed without warning between Rotterdam and Newcastle with the loss of almost its entire Chinese crew, is a case that was reported and bitterly commented upon throughout the Chinese press. On the broader issue of maritime law, modern Chinese opinion, whose very cornerstone is unrestricted access to the high seas, distinguishes readily between the restraints of Allied policing and the outrages of German piracy. For the rest, the Kaiser's instructions to his soldiers on the Boxer expedition, China's own experience of the mailed fist with the ruthless seizure of Kiaochow, and her keen sensitiveness to Germany's cynical defiance of the open door in Shantung down to the eve of the war—all these exemplifications of German policy have provided a background of distrust and resentment which Germany's press agencies in the Far East have been unable to explain away.

But behind these grievances bulk larger and much more compelling issues still. By breaking with Germany now China is assured a seat at the Peace Conference. That means that she is assured a hearing before the nations independently of Japan. For ourselves, as well as for China, that is a crucial element in the whole situation. It makes our dream of an open door in China a real possibility in the reconstructed world. For this is at once the primary demand of China and the basis of any enduring peace in the Far East. For her to win that opportunity means that she may utilize the moral leverage of reaction against war and imperialism to enforce her case of dearly bought liberty and republican autonomy. China has faced this issue squarely, and she has determined to pay the price.

It is not altogether fair to say that China's entrance into the war independently of Japan will be a blow to Japanese prestige. Japan's right to exercise a sort of Monroe Doctrine over China has been urged by her more or less irresponsible spokesmen, notably in America, when something had to be said, and said quickly, to cover up the egregious ultimatum of 1915. The Japanese Government has been extremely sensitive to the wave of bitter ill-feeling which the celebrated Twenty-one Demands caused in China, and it has been more sensitive still to the marked coolness with which that episode has since been regarded by British and American public opinion. Consequently, the Japanese junkers, whose scheme it was, have suffered humiliations at home. So great is the apprehension caused by Premier Terauchi's Imperialistic intentions that he still cannot count on a majority in Parliament.

But a sign of China's growing self-respect in dealing with Japan was already evident this year in the significant conclusion of the Chengchiatun affair. The Chengchiatun affair was simply one of the brawls that unhappily have been so common between the expanding fringe of Japanese garrisons in Eastern Mongolia and the resident Chinese soldiery. Its importance lies in the fact that Japan's insistent offer to furnish military advisers and instructors, to expand the activities of the Japanese police, and to place special advisers at provincial police headquarters, was successfully rejected by China's able Foreign Minister, well remembered in this country, Dr. Wu Ting-Fang. Regrets, reprimandings, and indemnities—these, the polite husk, Japan received; but of the substance, of the fruits of "peaceful penetration," nothing. The Tokio *Jiji*, *Asahi*, and *Nichi-nichi* at once led the aggressive section of the national press in a bitter campaign of objurgation against Foreign Minister Motono; they cried "national shame," "disgraceful ineptitude," "humiliating surrender," and in other ways laid bare the chagrin of Japanese junkerdom in a manner very soothing to the feelings of Chinese patriots.

But the inference is irresistible that this settlement was designed to appeal to elements among the Japanese people who do not desire a too aggressive foreign policy. They have unclenched the fist under China's nose. It is a wise expediency. It is one of several evidences that Japan's leaders, in spite of a jingo press, have decided to try out on China a more humane and sympathetic policy. It is true that China's boycott of the past two years has hit Japanese trade hardest in its richest field; and Japanese, like English, liberalism is deeply stirred by a tyranny which reduces trade. Yet Japan as a whole has seen for many months that autocratic methods do not wear well. Thus it happens that we have in Japan the curious anomaly of

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the much-heralded war-lord Terauchi in power, and soft words and conciliatory deeds increasingly in use. Japan has her Milyukovs and her Rodzianskos, too, who, though the Imperial throne is, of course, still invulnerable, have upset more diplomatic calculations in modern Japan than the world suspects, from the naval scandals which carried Okuma into power down to the Chinese Ultimatum which carried him out. They were certainly effective in keeping Japan's governmental head cool over China's disposition to independence in entering the war.

With Japan thus standing aside, the Far East begins to assume a different complexion. China is now virtually one of the Allies; certainly, she is no longer, as it appeared possible during the siege of Tsingtao, one of the spoils. She is not merely looking forward to treaties and guarantees after the war. She demands something on deposit now. If she is going in to help insure a free Europe, it is only fair to ask her European allies to remove some of the dead-weights which to-day make a free China impossible.

The most iniquitous of all Europe's oppressive exactions from China is the Boxer Indemnity. Counting principal and interest, the Boxer Indemnity imposed on a nation whose annual budget to-day is something like $200,000,000, a fine of more than $700,000,000. The presence of this deferred interest explains why, although history tells us that the Boxer Indemnity was only $335,000,000, the China Year Book discloses $550,000,000 still to pay. Of this, to-day's tardy justice cancels $110,000,000. This is Germany's share, 20 per cent. of the whole. Only Russia did less than Germany to restore order in China after the Boxer outrages; and only Russia extorted a higher indemnity, 28 per cent. of the whole.

China is making no secret of her hopes that Russia is in a different mood to-day, and that the Allies in general will find some way to bring relief. By no mere coincidence China's present Foreign Minister is Wu Ting-Fang. It was Wu Ting-Fang, America's firmest friend in China on account of our restoring our share of the fine, who put before the Powers two years ago as a private citizen a passionately urged plea that Europe should forego the quarter of a century of blood money to which she was still entitled. Unquestionably, he is urging it on the Allies at this moment; and America might strengthen his hands. The least China might expect, short of the cancellation of the whole indemnity, is its commutation into an educational endowment such as formed the far-seeing compromise with our own Government. In the Far East it is recognized that the Chinese students whom we exchanged for our share of the Boxer Indemnity are the best bargain Yankee shrewdness ever struck.

Europe not only loaded China's back with a crushing indemnity; she kept a mill-stone of fiscal dependence around her neck that made that indemnity all but impossible to raise. That millstone consists in the series of forced trade treaties whereby China bound herself to limit her customs taxes to 5 per cent., an economic vassalage which has stultified China's economic development immeasurably. It is not even 5 per cent. in reality, for it is now based on a scale of valuations mostly standardized on prices as they were in 1902.

So when the Allies guarantee to Dr. Wu, as they now appear to have done, the right to raise Chinese import duties from a fictional five per cent. (which in some cases amounted to only one per cent.) to an effectual twelve and a half per cent., they unloose industrial vitality in China in a way which will prove to be highly beneficial. Their action will mean that China can at last look forward to a home-controlled and home-capitalized economic life, and can gradually draw herself out of her waterlogged paths of foreign restrictions.

On these counts alone, China is gaining concessions which should justify her entrance into the war. And at the Peace Conference we may hear more, if it is not already being discussed, of the third great humiliation of Chinese public life, extra-territoriality. This, of course, is the legal euphemism used to cover the presence of foreign police and foreign law courts on Chinese soil, the planting of foreign concessions in the heart of China's greatest cities and at strategic trading points along the seaboard, and the continual insistence from these vantage grounds on all kinds of foreign exploitation. They have been necessary, and they have served their purpose well, but the time has come, as in the case of Japan in 1895, to hold no longer such tributary hostages against a free people. America owns no concession, not a foot of land, "leased" or "guarded," anywhere in China. Throughout Japan's long struggle for her autonomy, very few of us remember that it was America alone who for twenty-two years was prepared to turn over to the Japanese Government, root and branch, the concessions and privileges which Western nations were holding from her under the name of extra-territoriality. It is a strange coincidence that to-day, just twenty-two years after Japan received her freedom, China appears before the bar of European justice with exactly the same plea. We might again take the initiative, to which our record in the Far East entitles us, and strengthen China's hands in abolishing these last badges of dependence and humiliation.

With these capital possibilities before her, it is not surprising to learn that once the Chinese Government made its decision to throw overboard its neutrality and risk the war, it has had with it the whole-hearted support of the people. The House of Representatives decided to break with Germany by a vote of 431 to 87; every political party in Parliament supported the measure with decisive majorities. The Kuo Ming Tang radicals, composed of the liberals and visionaries to whom the credit of the First Revolution and the initiative of the Chinese Republic are mainly due, support China's stand in their influential press; and in the Senate, where they have a majority, it has their overwhelming approval. No considerable element among the Chinese people anywhere opposes it. A telegram purporting to have come from Dr. Sun Yat-Sen, urging Lloyd George to cease his efforts to get China into the war, is now being denounced as a forgery by Dr. Sun's supporters. As a matter of fact, Dr. Sun is not only stanchly pro-Ally, but his own associates in the radical wing of the Kuo Ming Tang are to-day for intervention. They see what all Young China sees, that their Republic is now inaugurating a foreign policy in China, and that the decision will condition China's relations with Europe for a generation. It is only the reactionaries, the older generals, the military party, and what still is left of the Peiyang, or the old court party, who have been slow to come into line. Creative, forward-looking China, responsive to the real meaning of European war diplomacy, and especially sensitive to American initiative, has never hesitated.

What China will do in the war is still problematical. She

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can hardly be expected to send troops to Europe; she cannot place gold or credit at the Allies' disposal. Men and metal will be her quota for the present. Industrial laborers, trained and potential, she has in abundance. Upwards of 100,000 are already in Europe or on their way there; to be displaced promptly by European labor and European standards, of course, directly the war is over. These men are protected by contracts in which their guarantor and protector is the Chinese Government itself. Their work is limited to civilian agricultural and industrial occupations far from the battle-line. In the great Pouderie du Boucht, typical of the establishments in France, where they are now employed in large numbers, they get thirty cents a day of ten hours; and their food is rationed out on the most scrupulous military industrial basis; wheat, rice, meat, vegetables, tea, lard, and salt in quantities agreed to by their own Government being prepared by Chinese cooks in pots, pans, and kitchen paraphernalia all brought from China. On China's revolutionary holiday, February 12, the day the Republic was founded five years ago, they had the liberty of Paris—with sixty cents to spend on the boulevards. It is an astonishing experiment, this transferring of Oriental man-power in such numbers to European workshops, but in the coöperation of China with the Allies still more astonishing things are being planned. Already the British are planning to recruit Chinese industrial workers for service in tropical Mesopotamia; Russia, too, is organizing agricultural workers to reinforce her food supply from Siberia and Mongolia. For out of China's diverse climate can come man-power for either steppe or desert.

As to metals, the Allies stand to gain from the accession of China a continued assurance of the output of one of the largest iron mines in the world. This is the great Tayeh mine, in Hupeh province, where there are deposits of the highest grade iron ore amounting to more than 50,000,000 tons. The surface of this deposit is being extracted just now to the extent of something like 1,500 tons a day, most of which goes to the Hanyehping Iron & Coal Company's huge arsenals, foundries, and smelting works at Hanyang, on the Yangtse River. China has an annual production of iron ore of well above a half-million tons, while her coal mines yield annually between thirteen and fifteen million tons. The Japanese, meanwhile, are working energetically on the lapsed German concessions in Shantung, at their own great concessions in Manchuria, and within the area of control which they won over the Hanyehping Corporation by their Ultimatum of 1915. In that Ultimatum they obliged the Chinese to insert a self-denying clause relinquishing the right to interfere with the present management of the Hanyehping. The inference is that the present Chinese management of the Hanyehping is to-day substantially controlled by Japanese finance. That is not certain, however, as the Japanese have not yet chosen to show their hand; and, meanwhile, by putting the Hanyehping so far as they can at the disposal of the Allies, China will surely lose nothing, while she stands to gain at least the appearance of a joint Allied control over this enormous industrial asset.

Under such circumstances, with such hopes for the world after the war, and with such contributions to the Allied effort to achieve that world, China enters the area of the world conflict. Like ourselves, she has come to her decision reluctantly, tardily, and on a paramount moral issue in which she stands neither to gain nor to lose territory or military renown. We are both by preference and instinct pacifist peoples, more than preoccupied with our problems at home. Yet we are both to-day inexorably in the orbit of the war, stung to action by the same irresistible provocation. We Americans should not undervalue the kinship with ourselves which China has shown by so readily following our initiative. That initiative leads her out on wide and dangerous seas, but it leads her into a realm of high possibilities which the fresh energies of her political youth may turn to the interests of freedom and stability far beyond anything the Chinese Republic has yet been allowed to attain. Let us remember this when China looks to us, as she may again in the near future, to sustain her in her struggle for political autonomy and economic habilitation; for this will mean much for the peace of the world.

GARDNER L. HARDING

Wrestling with Russian

IT did not need the revolution to create in England an enthusiasm for Russia that one might almost describe as a "craze." The cult of things Russian has taken some strange forms, as when, quite early in the war, an influential organ of evangelical Nonconformity published an editorial in praise of the religion of the moujik. For the last two years and a half Stephen Graham has had the opportunity of his life. His books, and others of kindred brands, have been eagerly read. No concert programme is regarded as complete nowadays unless it includes a few items of Russian music. Borodin, Glazounov, and Moussorgsky have jumped into a sudden popularity at the Queen's Hall. Even Birmingham has started a local Anglo-Russian Society and has held a "Russian week" devoted to performances of Russian music and plays, lectures on Russian art, literature, and social life, and an exhibition of articles of Russian handicraft.

The most startling sign of this new affection for the former bogey is the zeal with which so many people are addressing themselves to the study of the Russian language. Ordinarily the Englishman does not shine as a linguist, and the fact that in these strenuous days he should be seriously taking up so difficult a task as the learning of Russian is a striking evidence of the intensity of his enthusiasm. Madame Clara Butt, it is reported, has learned the language to the extent of being able to sing Russian songs in the original. Another distinguished student is Sir Donald McAlister, the principal of Glasgow University and president of the General Medical Council, who is essaying this unusual task in his sixty-third year.

The copyright in textbooks and dictionaries of the Russian language must nowadays be a valuable property. You see them prominently displayed on the open shelves of public libraries and constantly advertised in the newspapers. A search through the advertising columns has failed to disclose any "Russian Made Easy"—perhaps that would have imposed too great a strain on the confidence of the most sanguine beginner—but there is an approach to it in "Learn Russian in a simple and interesting way by aid of the Pictorial Russian Course, a complete course of Russian in 30 Lessons with pictures illustrating everyday life." There has been started a monthly publication, the *Russian Pupil*, which claims for itself that "the matter is arranged in an interesting, novel, and attractive manner, and is helpful in every respect." Some advertisements offer tuition in

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Russian by correspondence. Another runs: "Can any lady recommend Russian nursery governess for two girls, five and seven years; first lessons; good needlewoman; young; or could readers inform advertiser how such ladies may be found?"

The universities and colleges have not been slow to respond to this wave of sentiment, especially those that are least hampered by educational traditions. An alumnus of Queen's College, Oxford, Mr. Henry Laming, has founded at that institution four scholarships of $500 per annum, tenable for either three or four years, whose holders are to take the Russian language for their honors degree. This benefaction is designed to provide a university course for candidates intending to follow a business career or to enter the consular service. King's College, London, has now a special School of Slavonic Studies, whose aim it is to group around Russian the study of all the Slavonic peoples and languages—not forgetting, one hopes, the Czecho-Slovaks, with whose fate the diplomatists are so profoundly concerned. The University of Manchester has decided to establish a professorship and department of Russian, and a sum of $25,000 has been promised conditionally upon $75,000 being raised from other sources for its endowment. The University of Birmingham has about $50,000 in hand for a similar purpose, but will not appoint to the chair until the war is over, owing to the number of possible candidates who are at present engaged in assisting the Government in connection with the war. The munificence of a single benefactor, Sir James Roberts—the head of the well-known alpaca works at Saltaire, founded by the late Sir Titus Salt—has endowed a chair of Russian at the University of Leeds, and Messrs. Vickers have endowed a lectureship in the same subject at the University of Sheffield.

Several "public schools," in the English sense of the word, have established Russian classes. The list includes Eton, St. Paul's, the City of London, Cheltenham, Clifton, Sherborne, and the Leys. The City of London College—an institution which must not be confused with the City of London School—had established before the war a series of Russian classes for the benefit of commercial clerks and others already engaged in the Russian trade. It has now introduced Russian as an ordinary subject in the curriculum of its Day Technical Commercial School. The London County Council has provided instruction in Russian during the winter session at thirty-two institutes within its area. This figure compares with instruction in French at eighty-five institutes, German at thirty-eight, Spanish at thirty-three, Italian at twenty-six, Portuguese at seven, and Dutch at one. The Institute of Bankers is arranging Russian classes of its own for bank clerks.

One of the most interesting schemes is reported from Bradford. The local education authority has opened Russian classes in the schools with such success that there are to-day more students of Russian in Bradford than in any other city in the United Kingdom outside London. Arrangements are now being made to provide travelling scholarships which will enable a certain number to continue their studies during a year's residence in Russia itself. Opportunities are to be given them for obtaining first-hand knowledge of the industries of the country, its business methods, and the wants of the people. The Bradford Dyers' Association has offered to meet the cost of ten such scholarships, the candidates for which must already have an elementary knowledge of Russian, and must be connected with, or intend to be connected with, the Bradford or the Manchester piece goods trade. The Director of Education to the Bradford Education Authority has been in communication with the educational authorities in Russia, who have given the scheme a most cordial welcome. Its dominant motive is, of course, the hope that the ground may thereby be prepared for the introduction of British-made textiles into the Russian market, while public sentiment is in favor of the Englishman and hostile to his German competitor. A stimulus to the export trade of Bradford and the other manufacturing centres of Yorkshire would naturally have an effect upon Hull, and a leading shipowner of that port, Mr. Henry Samman, has contributed $50,000 to an endowment fund for promoting the local study of the Russian language. One must not overlook a news item, published a few months ago, reporting that many British prisoners interned alongside Russian prisoners in camps in enemy or neutral countries are taking advantage of the opportunity of learning the language of their companions in affliction. Instruction by this direct method is supplemented by the use of grammars and dictionaries sent out in connection with the British Prisoners of War Book Scheme.

The blend of enthusiasm for "our gallant ally" and eagerness to exploit new commercial possibilities makes a strong combination, but the Russian language is a tough "proposition," too, and it will provide a severe test of the perseverance of those who have recently taken it up without counting the cost in weariness and headache. Many, no doubt, who find the struggle too much for them will listen presently to the suggestion, already made from time to time in the press, that, after all, a knowledge of this very difficult language is not essential to successful business transactions with Russia and that Esperanto would answer the purpose quite well. Margarine for butter, turnips for potatoes, lentil cutlets for mutton cutlets, oatmeal for wheatmeal—in war-time we have all become accustomed to substitutes, and it will not be very surprising if Esperanto for Russian is added to the list.

HERBERT W. HORWILL

London, March 20

Correspondence

A MISSING POEM

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: A bibliography of the works of Elizabeth Barrett Browning is practically complete and ready for the printer save for one minor point. On behalf of the compiler I am venturing to ask if any of your readers have information which would throw light on the point in question.

In a letter addressed to H. S. Boyd and written about the end of January, 1843, Miss Barrett says: "I send you the magazines which I have just received from America, and which contain, one of them, 'The Cry of the Human,' and the other four of my sonnets. My correspondent tells me that the 'Cry' is considered there one of the most successful of my poems, but you probably will not think so" (Letters of Elizabeth Barrett Browning. Ed. by F. G. Kenyon, N. Y., 1898. Vol. I, p. 120).

In the "Complete Poetical Works of Elizabeth Barrett Browning," Cambridge Edition, edited by Harriet Waters Preston, "The Cry of the Human" appears on pages 167-169, with the bibliographical note: "First printed in *Graham's*

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American Magazine, 1842." A page by page examination of *Graham's Magazine* for the year 1842 fails to reveal this poem, but the December issue does contain, on page 303, the four sonnets referred to by Miss Barrett. An editorial note on page 343 says: "In this number will be found a series of sonnets by Miss Elizabeth B. Barrett, among the first of her contributions to any American periodical."

The undersigned has searched all the American general and literary periodicals published in 1842 which are accessible to him at this moment, but has failed to trace the one in which "The Cry of the Human" first appeared. It is the name, date, place, and issue of this periodical which are particularly desired by the compiler of the above-mentioned bibliography. The information, besides being important bibliographically, is not without value as literary history, and any assistance or suggestion that would lead to obtaining it would be greatly appreciated.

W. N. C. CARLTON
Librarian

The Newberry Library, Chicago, Ill., April 3

A PROPHETIC SONNET

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: The following poem, so eloquent and timely, was written by the late Madison Cawein, poet of Kentucky, in 1901, in his "Weeds by the Wall":

A. D. NINETEEN HUNDRED.

War and Disaster, Famine and Pestilence,
  Vaunt-couriers of the Century that comes,
  Behold them shaking their tremendous plumes
Above the world! where all the air grows dense
With rumors of destruction and a sense
  Cadaverous, of corpses and of tombs
  Predestined; while,—like monsters in the glooms,—
Bristling with battle, shadowy and immense,
The Nations rise in wild apocalypse.
  Where now the boast earth makes of civilization?
  Its brag of Christianity?—In vain
We seek to see them in the dread eclipse
  Of hell and horror, all the devastation
  Of death triumphant on his hills of slain.

Surely, even our minor American poets have, in their more exalted visions, a message significantly prophetic.

RUDOLPH ALTROCCHI

University of Chicago, February 26

"IPHIGENIA" IN MICHIGAN

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: "To have seen a Grecian play is a great remembrance," wrote De Quincey in 1845, after the performance in Edinburgh of the "Antigone" in English with Mendelssohn's new music, and though in recent times, since the "Œdipus Tyrannus" was so superbly presented at Harvard in 1881, productions of Greek plays in English have become common and even popular, it is still a rare and memorable experience to hear the masterpieces of the Athenian drama creditably rendered in the original Greek. "It was cheap at the price of a journey to Siberia," De Quincey added; and one who had travelled to Harvard in 1906 to see the masterpiece of Æschylus performed, and to Dartmouth in 1910 to witness that of Sophocles, was well repaid for the trip to Ann Arbor to see the favorite play of Euripides presented on March 29, 1917, by the Classical Club of the University of Michigan. No one who saw this lively and sympathetic production is likely to forget the profound impression it made, or to think that there is anything "dead" about the Greek language. A unique feature of the occasion was the presence of a large number of native Greeks from Detroit, Ypsilanti, and elsewhere, who were addressed in their own tongue by Professor Meader and who gave a most enthusiastic response.

The play was cut down by somewhat over one-third, the chief cuts being made in the long Second Episode, with its great recognition scene, which in action entirely justified the admiration of Aristotle. The scenery was beautiful, an impressive Doric temple in a charming woodland setting: one would have welcomed a glimpse of the sea in the background, so large is the part it plays by suggestion in this romantic drama. The acting was done with great spirit, naturalness, and feeling, and much credit is due to the young actors, who enjoyed the advantage of having women take the feminine rôles. The chief aim of the actors was to make the drama interesting even to those—the great majority of their audience—who knew no Greek, and there can be no doubt as to the correctness and the success of their aim, even if it involved the sacrifice of some important things. A clearer and slower declamation of the lines might have bored most of the hearers (as was the case with the Dartmouth "Œdipus"); the Hellenist could follow the words at least as well as he could in an opera (and, after all, Greek tragedy was very much of an opera), while the barbarian had all the enjoyment of a beautiful moving picture, full of life and color, with the potent added charm of the strangely beautiful music.

The music indeed was the crowning distinction of this performance, for which it was especially composed. Professor Stanley had already shown his genius for adapting the Greek modes to modern ears in his exquisite settings of the lyrics in Percy Mackaye's "Sappho and Phaon" and in Euripides's "Alcestis," which was played in English some years ago at the University of Michigan. In the "Iphigenia in Tauris" the Greek rhythms were closely followed (the Komos with its difficult dochmiacs was wisely omitted), as they were in Mendelssohn's music, but here for the first time the Dorian, Phrygian, and Aeolian modes were freely employed by a master hand, and modern harmonies were avoided. The music was rendered by a small choir of skilled singers behind the scenes, to the accompaniment of the two flutes, two clarinets, a harp, and a small piano, sufficiently suggestive of ancient instruments. The chorus of Greek women was here increased to seventeen and relieved from the duty of singing. The groupings and movements and softly colored draperies were a constant pleasure to the eye, and the simple but stately dances wrought into visible harmony the words and the rhythms and the musical setting, a living exposition of the Greek genius for uniting all the arts in one supreme sensuous and ethical appeal. The shape of the stage in the Hill Auditorium made an orchestra impossible: the altar (a genuine Roman *puteal*) was set to one side, and no attempt was made at strophic arrangement of dances. Nevertheless the chorus was more "convincing" than that in the great open-air production of the "Agamemnon" at Harvard, and vastly more pleasing than that in Mr. Granville Barker's recent popular performances. This success was due largely, of course, to the fine music, but Professor

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Kenyon, who designed the dances and trained all the performers, is to be congratulated on his happy compromises between the ancient and the modern: some compromise has to be made, and it is far better to aim at the Greek spirit than at the archæological letter. The concession, however, made to the modern theatregoer of an interval before the last stasimon, with the chorus leaving the stage, though no curtain was lowered, seemed to be quite unnecessary.

The costumes, designed by Dr. Orma F. Butler, were all beautiful and, though also something of a compromise, sufficiently true to what we know of antiquity, and were worn naturally. Iphigenia, the Choregus, Orestes, Pylades, and the Messengers, in appearance as well as in action, were very real persons, who would have satisfied the realistic spirit of Euripides. Even the Taurian barbarians were copied from Scythians as represented in the vase-paintings, and were far more effective than Mr. Barker's monsters; Thoas especially was a striking figure, not the burlesque that Mr. Barker made of him. And who that saw it will ever forget the splendid figure of Pallas Athena at the climax of the play, shown in a lightning-flash that gave unearthly glory to her white robes and shining helmet and ægis? Even a twentieth-century skeptic must have felt a thrill of almost pious awe at the resplendent apparition of the patron-saint of Athens, personifying all that Athens stood for in civilization and the arts, towering above the prostrate barbarians—a fitting symbol of the triumph of the Greek spirit over the powers of darkness and barbaric force—a symbol that has not lost its significance even in these Greekless days!

HERBERT H. YEAMES

Hobart College, Geneva, N. Y., April 4

BOOKS

War Criticism of Kant

Morale Kantienne et Morale humaine. By Félix Sartiaux. Paris: Hachette. 7.50 francs.

La Paix future d'après la révolution française et Kant. Par A. Aulard. Conférence, 1915. Paris: Colin.

La Science allemande. Par Pierre Duhem, membre de l'Institut. Paris: Hermann.

THE ninety-three Intellectuals, products and luminaries of German universities, who chose to identify German science, German philosophy, German religion even, with German militarism, must expect, as the consequence of their German war, a violent reaction among other races against all German systems of thought. The late Professor Duhem, the critic, in his Thermo-Dynamics of Herbert Spencer's prophecy of a universe frozen to death by Dissipation of Energy, passes all German science in unfavorable review. The case of Kant is peculiar.

When the German military aggression was actually made in 1914, French universities were smothering in the swaddling clothes of Kant. So omnivoracious a critic as Paul Souday still takes it for granted and beyond dispute that Kant has laid for all time the foundation of philosophic certainties and uncertainties. The leaders of the schools seem not to have had even the foresight of Cardinal Cajetan in Luther's time, when he shook his commentator's head over reasonings which St. Thomas Aquinas had left insufficiently developed and guarded *contra Gentiles*. Let some uneasy mind stir the theory of knowledge and certainty, he said, and it may crumble before him. Kant was that uneasy mind two centuries and a half later—and now, after more than another century, minds made uneasy by German aggression are turning against him too.

The substantial book of Félix Sartiaux on "Kant's Moral System and Human Morals" examines first (in 240 pages) the working up of Kant's philosophy of human knowledge to his moral system, in which "Kant's machinery goes to pieces." In its second part, the book expounds (125 pages) Kant's position towards preceding moral systems: primitive and religious; rational in Greek thought; classical and universal in Christian civilization; and then the independent moral systems of the nineteenth century. The last and not least chapter (75 pages) raises the question of responsibility for the present state of mind—"Kant and Prussian Mentality." Besides the analytical table of contents, there is a complete alphabetical index of subjects and authors, which has a considerable value of its own (23 pages). For example, Aristotle is cited 24 times; Spinoza 20; Leibnitz 27 and Malebranche 19; Hobbes 17 and Hume 8; Rousseau, the one Frenchman who influenced Kant, 22; Renouvier 8 and Herbert Spencer 2; and among contemporaries, the German Woellner 8 and the French Boutroux 15 times. The book is not too French, and it is devoid of university scholasticism. For the present crisis, it is a searchlight made to play on metaphysical and moral phantoms of the Brocken.

Flaws may be picked in our author's painstaking analysis. He sees clearly the Kantian, one almost might say the German, error which matches abstractions and, when they have been successfully dovetailed into non-contradictory formulas, works them into a philosophic or, what is worse, a moral system. *Quid curae nobis de generibus et speciebus?* "Have we to heed genera and species" in working out our salvation, was the heart's cry of the author of the "Imitation," who lived inconveniently near to German thinkers. If no longer for the soul's salvation, this is now more than ever a prime question for the mind's security. Renouvier, for once in an arduous philosophic career of more than sixty years, perpetrated the witticism that Kant transformed the "Transcendents" of the old philosophy into his own new "Transcendentals." With all his admiration, he felt obliged to add: "Kant's formulas of the moral law, his postulates, his theories of law and the juridical status of the peace of nations are bound beyond criticism to study of high syntheses of mind—although he strove to lift his Categorical Imperative to a degree of abstraction higher than possible practice."

It is enough here, for a summary criticism of M. Sartiaux's book, to name the rounds of the ladder of abstractions which has landed the learned world in Kant's moral system, after upsetting the agreement of philosophers and common men when they express their thought of themselves. William James, whom psychology bound otherwise, acknowledged this: "The universal conscious fact is not 'feelings and thoughts exist,' but 'I think' and 'I feel'" (Psychology, briefer course, page 152, ed. 1892). From this underlying fact of every man's immediate experience, the mind, whose business is to abstract, conceives existence (abstraction one); consciousness (abstraction two); and "states of consciousness" (abstraction three)—that is, in the concrete fact, I exist consciously, thinking and feeling now this and now that. John Locke, in spite of his incomprehension of these states of consciousness which were al-

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ready troubling philosophers, said of real things, without swerving from the ancient scholastic formula, "Only particulars do exist" (*Tantum singularia existunt*), which means, "I, one particular person, exist consciously," and not, "My states of consciousness exist." In those days, the infinite God was not yet a "universal," but *Ens singularissimum.* In our present matter of men's morals, the importance of this difference of formulas and their underlying ideas is again acknowledged by William James, in the teeth of his own contrary "minimum of assumption" (pages 152 and 174): "The altogether unique kind of interest which each human mind feels in those parts of creation which it can call *me* or *mine* may be a moral riddle, but it is a fundamental psychological fact."

Kant, to whom a knowledge of existence could be only a knowledge of abstract states of consciousness, and science only a dovetailing of such abstractions into non-contradictory formulas, built up his moral system accordingly, as M. Sartiaux well notes: "Here is the great revolution which Kant wrought and which he boasts of working. Just as in speculative philosophy he has changed the centre of perspective, by making Things turn around Thought instead of moving Thought in Things as his predecessors did, so he wished to be the Copernicus of moral theory, making Good a thing determined by Law, whereas all previous moralists had determined Law by Good. Before Kant, morality consisted in the agreement of the will with what was conceived or felt to be good. Kant reverses the equation—nothing can be considered good but that which is conformed to the moral law."

The morality which the German state has imposed on its people for the present war and which it uses to justify its acts has thrown legitimate suspicion on the moral character of the categorical imperative. Kant himself said: "It is all very well to do good to men for their sake, or to be just by love of order, but in that there is no moral maxim for our conduct. . . . You dispose minds to mere moral fanaticism when you stir them to actions presented as noble, sublime, grand, and thus throw them into the illusion that it is not Duty whose yoke they must bear. . . . By executing our acts on such principles, we in no wise satisfy the spirit of the law, which consists in the submission of the will to the law" (cited by Sartiaux from the *Critique de la Raison pratique*, trad. Picavet, pages 147-152).

Generations of New England Calvinists said resignedly, "as long as the moral law," and the English poet styles Duty—

Stern Daughter of the Voice of God.

Kant's eloquence on Duty, which Carlyle and Tyndall so admired, parodies Rousseau's appeal to Conscience, which differs from it as real things differ from abstractions. Sartiaux (pages 77-8) gives the words of both in full; and the French moralist Rauh ("Etudes de morale," page 24) long ago expressed the difference in two lines: "Between the affirmation of an impersonal law and the affirmation of respect for persons there is no relation. An impersonal law takes no account of individuals." But the individual, as the world has now learned to its cost, dwindles into "cannon-fodder"—*Kanonenfutter.*

Professor Aulard says of peace: "The political doctrine of Kant is not only the Syllabus of truths of the French Revolution, it was also beforehand the Syllabus of the errors and crimes of present Germany—Prussianized Germany." M. Sartiaux adds: "It has also been the Syllabus of mechanism, pride, egotism, equivocation—and of Germanic despotism"—and this concludes his book.

Purple and Fustian

Martin Valliant. By Warwick Deeping. New York: Robert M. McBride & Co.

The Highwayman. By H. C. Bailey. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co.

The Yeoman Adventurer. By George W. Gough. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons.

Lost Endeavour. By John Masefield. New York: The Macmillan Co.

Greater than the Greatest. By Hamilton Drummond. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co.

WHAT Henry James held of the novelist, that it is his chief business to "muffle the ache of the actual" by offering us another world, another consciousness, and another experience, is patently true of the romancer; and his easiest road to illusion leads through the gateway of the past. Beyond that portal glamour hath, as it were, her official dwelling-place. Back towards the antique world all men love to glance, whether with the mild curiosity and affectionate tolerance of their every-day humor, or with the wonder and envy of the romantic mood. To that mood all old times are good old times because they lacked our own particular inhibitions and complications, and because of that convenient remoteness which enables fancy to invest even the squalid and the brutal with color and with grace. But there is a false glamour and a true, and it is the false alone that the invidious label of "costume" romance rightly fits. A hired fustian garb trying to pass itself off as true royal purple is the thing one rightly despises.

With "Unrest," labelled for America "Bridge of Desire," Mr. Warwick Deeping recently made a not very happy attempt to pin us down to our own world. There he deliberately threw over the romantic code to which, in his tales of old time, he had dutifully clung. A "hero" is, *ex-officio*, noble and faithful, virtuous to pattern, and no doubt pretty sickening in the long run to the hand that has to keep turning him out fit for the calipers. So this workman tried to ease the strain by giving us a man as men are, and by justifying him. Unfaithful to his altogether desirable wife? Well, what of it? A cad and a poltroon? Never mind. He is not going to be cast into outer darkness, he is going to be taken back into the conjugal bosom in due season—and, mind you, he is going to be a better man and a better husband *because* he has been a traitor and a slacker and a cad. How restful it must have been for Mr. Deeping to let himself and his fellow-mortal go like that! Less restful, no doubt, for his publishers and his established public; he has returned, at all events, to his machine. That permits him a good deal of fleshliness so long as he does not admit that the flesh is the thing. This story exhibits the romancer's habitual fondness for red hair, and his excited interest in the fact that beneath the garments of his heroes and heroines there is a good deal of white skin. The lover and the lady of the present narrative are stripped at almost mechanical intervals, lest this fact be forgot. The lover is that piquant figure, a renegade monk, the lady a damsel errant, and a plentiful supply of deeds and doings is assigned to

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them. But the whole thing is a contrivance, rather cynically rigged up by an expert.

There is more gusto about "The Highwayman." Piquancy is the chosen note, and the performer thoroughly enjoys being piquant. Despite the title and the opening scene, this is not the tale of a gentleman of the road, in a literal sense. But Colonel Boyce is virtually that kind of gentleman, in a larger field, and Harry Boyce is long under suspicion as a variant of the same type. Harry Boyce is our hero, a hero, above all, of sangfroid. His apparent aim in life is to let nothing disturb his calm or wipe the smile of quiet amusement from his features. To tell the truth, he is rather a fleering fellow, and we do not quite make out why the beautiful Alison succumbs to him so readily. But there you are, she does; and then the question is how soon the pair are to fall out and by what means, in the long end, they are to be reconciled. The process of their conjugal adjustment involves a deal of misunderstanding and cross-purpose, connected in part with certain plots for and against the Pretender. It is Harry Boyce who finally, with the aid of his Grace of Marlborough, saves the young Prince from kidnapping or worse at the hands of Boyce senior. There is great play of wit in these pages, as well as the play of swords; the author especially loves, and liberally presents, the naughtiness of polite humor in the reign of Queen Anne.

Romance, it seems, will never have enough of the fortunes of the ill-starred House of James. "The Yeoman Adventurer" is yet another tale of Prince Charlie and the '45. The human fulcrum here is one Oliver Wheatman, master of the Hanyards, a considerable estate in Staffordshire. The time is that moment when Staffordshire rouses itself to meet the coming of the Stuart who, said rumor, "with fifty thousand Highlanders, savages who disembowelled women for sport and roasted children for food, had sacked Manchester and was now marching south, with hell in his heart and desolation in his train." Master Noll Wheatman is the strong, simple-hearted youth who is perennially worthy of the lady of high degree. He knows his Virgil as well as his turnips and the use of his fists, but he is a John Ridd hero, for all that. A King's man at the outset, he is promptly committed to the service of a fair rebel, Mistress Margaret Waynflete. For her sake he bruises the dissolute Lord Brocton who has wantonly insulted her in his presence, and with her he makes off upon the northward road of adventure. A lively action ensues, very capably compounded of love-making, stout deeds, intrigue, and giving the other fellow what-for; all under the rosily benignant spotlight of romance. A costume story, if you like, an affair of pleasant superficial illusion, but of illusion which, one feels, the author himself cheerfully and spontaneously shares.

A more stately and heroic type of historical romance is the "Greater than the Greatest" of Hamilton Drummond. The time is the thirteenth century, the scene Rome, the salient historical episode upon which the action is based is the struggle between the Pope and the young Emperor Frederick. Against the latter an intrigue of the Papal party attempts to employ, without her knowledge of her office, the girl Bianca Pandone, niece of the Cardinal of that name. Frederick, with his heart set upon the welfare of Sicily and upon dreams of a stabler empire, is not to be diverted by trifles from his purposes. It is not through Bianca that the Empire is finally conquered by the Church and Frederick forced to forego his useful labors for Sicily that a new Crusade may seal the authority of Pope Gregory. In a powerful scene Pope and Emperor have their decisive reckoning: Frederick has his say, expresses his contempt and resentment of the malice which animates the Papal policy: Sicily and the Empire are to be checked and crippled lest they grow too strong. But the Pope has the authority, when all is said, and there is but one possible answer to his threat of interdiction and excommunication for Frederick and all his people, if the Crusade be given up. Before his departure the Emperor is to make sure of the girl Bianca's happiness in union with the cousin who, in his despair, has so nearly taken the irrevocable vows of the Church.

Mr. Masefield's "Captain Margaret" seemed to us a costume story in the lesser sense—a bit of fustian, with all its color and bravery. The machinery of the tale was too easily in view, probability and consistency were too cavalierly flouted; and there were affectations of manner. "Lost Endeavor" is a far more spontaneous and sound performance. Whatever advantage it may seek from costume and atmosphere is a minor affair; the narrative is well capable of standing on its own feet; 1690, to be sure, is the time assigned to the beginning of the story, a period when press-gangs harried the English coasts and privateers raked the seas for profit. In a private school for Sons of Gentlemen on Shooter's Hill are a boy, Charles Harding, and a master, Teodoro Mora, who are destined for strange adventures. One day they are kidnapped and shipped off to be sold as slaves in Virginia. Harding is so disposed of, Mora escapes; and when chance once more brings his old pupil to him, Mora belongs to a villanous gang of smugglers and pirates. Harding is forced to join them, against his will. Mora, it seems, is not a mere rascal, but has been initiated into certain ancient Indian mysteries, and cherishes the dream of founding a great kingdom upon the ruins of an old but not quite forgotten civilization. Connected with this dream is his knowledge and search of an island in which great treasures of gold and of historic relics are to be found. With Harding and a faithful Dick (as delightful a sea-figure as may be found anywhere in fiction) he makes long search for this magical island; and if they do not find what they seek, neither do they return from their adventuring without profit. The tale lacks the sort of ending to satisfy a boy's heart—the Treasure Island ending; but whatever it loses thereby as a boy's book it gains as a man's book. It is very much that. After the opening chapter, with its brace of drunken hags, one's male enjoyment is not diverted by so much as the flutter of a petticoat in the offing.

Wordsworth

William Wordsworth: His Life, Works, and Influence. By George McLean Harper. 2 vols. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

SO much has been said about Wordsworth and, on the whole, so well said that a biographer who asks us to read two more large volumes on the subject may fairly be expected to set forth his reasons for reopening the case. Professor Harper tells us that in writing his book he has had chiefly in mind those for whom Wordsworth's personality, as distinguished from his works, does not exist; and those for whom he is a placid old gentleman occupied with flowers and domestic animals and a defence of England and the English Church. For those who know nothing of Words-

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worth this justification should be sufficient; but no habitual reader of his poetry and no one of any acquaintance with the extensive critical literature dealing with him entertains any such conception of his personality.

The true reason for the publication seems to be that Professor Harper is an industrious and reasonably pious Wordsworthian—we say "reasonably" pious because Professor Harper's respect for his hero declines with his progress towards orthodoxy in religion and conservatism in politics. He has labored, however, for ten years to bring together every available scrap of the biographical record. More diligently than any of his predecessors he has attempted to establish where Wordsworth was, what he was doing, and how he was feeling in every month and on each day of the month—with particular closeness in the first volume, which takes us to 1802. He has recorded the ascertainable facts, meagre enough, of the poet's obscure liaison in France, and has striven assiduously to throw light upon his activities in the period of the French Revolution, supplementing at various points the well-known study by Professor Legouis, which he declares is a "perfect book."

The chief merit of the work is the painstaking, detailed, and often dull reconstitution of Wordsworth's milieu from the domestic hearth outward, and the setting in motion of the simple drama of his daily life. It is often dull because Professor Harper does not hesitate to insert into his text half a page of an itinerary containing nothing but places and dates; half a page about the occupations and family of a man from whom Wordsworth rented a farm; half a page of text and another half-page of notes about an utterly irrelevant man of whom Wordsworth rented a room; any number of pages about English authors by whom he might have been influenced, and whom he might have met at his bookseller's; and numberless passages from letters and journals, which are trivial or repetitious in effect, or both. Presently one feels as if one were struggling wearily through the dreary midst of an interminable realistic novel. Not once, but day after day and week after week one has seen the bard pacing to and fro on his gravel walk, his chin on his chest, composing; Mrs. Wordsworth is looking after the children, who are suffering from measles or the whooping-cough; Dorothy is writing letters or copying out some verses for Coleridge; presently the brother and sister walk to the mail or ramble into the hills; Dorothy writes in her journal and William reads his proofs; Coleridge drops in for supper disconsolate and loquacious; after supper they read William's poems or Coleridge recites "Christabel," and they talk for a couple of hours; Wordsworth goes to bed at nine-thirty sick and exhausted with the effort and excitement of composing the most tranquillizing lines in English; there is moonlight in the garden, and Coleridge and Dorothy sit there from eleven till half-past three in the morning; De Quincey, six miles away, looks shyly towards the cottage but dares not approach; perhaps Lamb or Hazlitt will stroll in to-morrow. The hero, inwardly intense though he is, lends himself badly to dramatic representation. All the same, there is a fine complex love interest something like that in "A Midsummer Night's Dream"; Professor Harper is unconcealedly and almost ecstatically devoted to Dorothy; Dorothy nourishes a smothered and racking passion for Coleridge; Coleridge is in love with Sara Hutchinson and is trying to escape from the clutches of Sara, his wife. For all this Professor Harper copiously supplies dates, places, and documentary evidence with praiseworthy care. He has gathered in also a large amount of the important material illustrating the attitude of Wordsworth's contemporaries towards him and his "circle."

His own criticism is very difficult to collect, and, when collected, it is still more difficult to make cohere. He holds in general that the eighteenth century was on the right track; that the nineteenth century was reactionary and parenthetical; but that the twentieth century is on the right track again. That which in Wordsworth is of the eighteenth century is admirable; that which is of the nineteenth is regrettable. While he was a hot-tempered youth under the influence of Rousseau and Godwin, he was wise; when he became an experienced and disciplined man and repudiated Godwin and Rousseau, he was foolish.

Professor Harper's treatment of these two great sophists is almost incredibly uncritical. He seems as completely "taken in" by them as college boys were in the last decade of the eighteenth century. Rousseau's "views," he says, "are as obviously true now as they were startlingly true when first uttered"; and he remarks in the same connection that "the world too often refuses to accept literally the sincerest maxims of great moralists." Of Godwin's "Political Justice" he says, "Probably no literary or philosophical work of equal value has been so little read in proportion to its merit. Such is the force of organized prejudice. . . . The soundest parts . . . are devoted to *ethical and political considerations*. . . . The only weak element of his book is the thinness of his argument for necessity." As Professor Harper must know, Shelley, when he abandoned his wife and seduced Godwin's daughter, was taking the maxims of this great moralist "literally." Yet without the quiver of an eyelid to show that he is jesting with us, Professor Harper can write a passage like this:

> She [Dorothy Wordsworth] loved Coleridge, and was able, through long years, not of mere silence and withdrawal, but of close intimacy, to transmute her love into helpfulness, forgetting self and reverencing every obligation. Did she perchance strengthen her soul, in moments of extreme trial, with Godwin's law that "man has no rights, but only duties"?

What seems never to have dawned upon Professor Harper is that a "duty" in the Godwinian vocabulary means practically the inclination of any rationalizing individual at any given moment; and that the whole force of the Godwinian logic would have completely justified Dorothy in disregarding such a poor creature as Mrs. Coleridge, and in uniting herself with the great philosopher. Of her abstention from this act, common-sense offers two very simple explanations, either one of them quite sufficient. The first is that she was restrained by common decency. The second is that Coleridge, on Professor Harper's own showing, was in love with Sara Hutchinson. Why lug in a disorderly philosophical anarchist to hold her back?

But Professor Harper has apparently taken a vow that he will rehabilitate the reputations of Godwin and Rousseau at all costs. "To many practical statesmen," he declares, "as well as to Rousseau and Godwin, it seemed that the sole function of government was to secure liberty of action to the individual. . . . Stated less dogmatically, the same idea, of course, is latent in the writings of the American Federalists and in Bentham and J. S. Mill." On this passage one may offer the following comments. Bentham is a rather curious person to set up as a "practical statesman." The "idea" is not "latent," but perfectly patent and explicit in J. S. Mill. The "writings of the American

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Federalists" represent a vigorous reaction against the fear of government expressed by Mill, Bentham, and Godwin. While Godwin and the men of his school place the welfare of the individual above every other consideration, the Federalists obviously are supporting a plan to subordinate the interests of the individual to the interests of the nation, to national strength, to national prosperity, to the preservation of the Union. While Godwin and his friends speak constantly of government at its best as but a "necessary evil," Hamilton says, "A nation without a national government is, in my view, an awful spectacle." The writings of the Federalists were a reply to the loud clamors of radical democrats and men impregnated with the anarchical Godwinian individualism, who feared that the Constitution would take away their "liberties." The essence of the reply is, that there is something more important than individual liberty. "The citizens of America," says Hamilton, "have too much discernment to be argued into anarchy. And I am much mistaken if experience has not wrought a deep and solemn conviction in the public mind, that greater energy of government is essential to the *welfare and prosperity of the community.*"

So far as the reviewer can make out, Professor Harper admires Rousseau and Godwin as apostles of the enlightenment, champions of reason against tradition, custom, and prescription. If that is the case, what does he mean by speaking of "the strange, foolish revolt against law which was one of the main currents of Romanticism"? When Professor Harper meets the theory of "natural goodness" in the "Ode to Duty," he is delighted with Wordsworth's bold new view; when he meets it in Rousseau's "Emile," he acclaims "the eloquence and reasonableness of this noble work." Why, then, does he say, when he comes upon the same thing in Schiller's "Anmuth und Würde," "So far as I can perceive, there was no firmer basis for this view than pure sentimentality"? Professor Harper admires Wordsworth for his rationalism. Why, then, does he declare that Wordsworth's renunciation of his mystical pantheism was a "moral error"? He praises Wordsworth because he does not create distrust "by professing to enjoy a mystical illumination." Why, then, does Professor Harper single out for special praise poems like "Tintern Abbey" and the "Intimations"? He says that Wordsworth does not "repel the simple-hearted reader by setting up a system." Why, then, does he discuss the "philosophical system" of the "Excursion," and why does he complain that in the last book of the "Prelude" "his tone is pietistic, his plan drearily systematic, his language abstract"? He says that Wordsworth "never taught that nature existed as an object lesson"; but he also says Wordsworth believed "that the soul of the universe, uttering its august precepts through the clear air and the unsullied earth, speaks in an intelligible language to the heart of man; *because law and duty are the same for man and star and flower.*" It is idle to quote further incoherences.

Let us only remark in conclusion that the belief that "law and duty are the same for man and star and flower" sums up pretty well the pestilential part of Wordsworth's influence. This naturalistic doctrine, which Professor Harper appears to consider very beautiful, Wordsworth repudiated; but it flourished vigorously enough in Professor Harper's "confused parenthesis," the nineteenth century; and nowadays it flourishes like the green bay tree, and English novelists and German philosophers, statesmen, and military men lodge in the branches thereof.

William James

The Philosophy of William James. By Th. Flournoy. Translated by Edwin B. Holt and William James, Jr. New York: Henry Holt & Company. $1.30 net.

WILLIAM JAMES is, without question, the best-known and most universally beloved figure in the history of American philosophy. Into the language of all civilized peoples his works have been translated, and everywhere his influence has been profound. Nowhere outside of his native land is there greater personal affection for the man than in Switzerland, where he spent some of his student days. In 1910 the Swiss Students' Christian Association planned to have James as its principal speaker. Ill health prevented the carrying out of the plan, and before the Association met William James had passed away. His place on the programme was taken by his old friend, M. Flournoy, who, out of piety to his memory, delivered an address on the "Philosophy of William James." That address, considerably expanded, is the book before us. It is at once a tribute of affection to his friend and an attempt to describe the chief phases of his philosophy. It is clearly and simply written and furnishes an admirable introduction to the study of William James—quite the best that we have seen. And it is, moreover, a book that will be read with equal pleasure and profit by those already familiar with his work.

Written as it is by an eminent psychologist, one is, indeed, a little surprised to find that it does not contain a more adequate consideration of James's special contributions to psychology. In view of the extent to which his philosophy grew out of and was founded upon his psychology, this limitation is the more striking and gives the book somewhat the appearance of being a catalogue of opinions rather than an interpretation of a philosophy. And surely such a statement as the following gives us a very misleading impression: "The originality of William James does not appear so much in his cardinal beliefs, which he took from the general current of Christian thought, as in the novel and audacious method by which he defended them against the learned philosophies of the day." James was not an apologist, and the cardinal beliefs which our author discusses in this book were certainly not taken from the current of Christian thought. It is hardly likely that that sentence would ever have been written if M. Flournoy had not been delivering his address before a Christian Association.

M. Flournoy discusses James's philosophy under such captions as: The Rejection of Monism, Pragmatism, Radical Empiricism, Pluralism, Tychism, Meliorism and Moralism, Theism. James's view is in each case presented with singular charm and fidelity, although full justice is rarely done to the arguments by which these views were supported. It is as if our author were saying: Here is a statement of what James stood for in philosophy all clearly mapped out. Now go and read his books and see why. Perhaps that is just what an introductory book should do.

There is, it must be admitted, a special difficulty that confronts any one who would try to give a systematic and summary statement of the philosophy of William James. His was a singularly unacademic mind. You cannot gather up his views under certain headings, tie them up neatly with a ribbon, ticket them and tuck them away in pigeonholes. He was a very real human being, and his philosophy was

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plastic, living. Every formulation was, so to speak, *ad hoc*, and must give way to a fresh one in order to meet new occasions. He had a horror of formulas. They spelled desiccation. If any one agreed with him to the extent of adopting his phrases, it was time for him to disagree with himself. Comparatively late in life he gave his philosophy the name of pragmatism, though even in doing so he made Charles Pierce play the rôle of the wise "Priestess of Mantinea," who had put the word in his mouth. And once the view was launched and labelled and began to have followers, how instinctively he stood from under! Over and again in discussing pragmatism he refers to it as the Schiller-Dewey view; never as "my view." When a philosophy, even his own, became an *ism* and achieved a following it was already growing threadbare. All of which means that James was a thinker to live with rather than to study about. And fortunately, such was his genius, his own works give the opportunity for intimate philosophical companionship of this sort.

M. Flournoy fully recognizes this fact. "James is," he writes, "one of those personalities who, by their exuberance and great originality and their emancipation from everything conventional, affect us like one of nature's primordial forces which cannot be readily described or summarized." And it is no doubt a recognition of this quality of the man that has led him to preface his study with brief chapters on James's Artistic Temperament and on his Early Environment, models of appreciative criticism; and to conclude it with a discussion of his psychological interpretation of the contents of religious experience. This last is a review of the "Varieties of Religious Experience," the book which M. Flournoy considers the most masterly example of James's "fine comprehension of other minds that differed from his own." For he was supreme "in discerning that which is original and unique in every creature, and in attaining a sympathetic insight into that which constitutes for each its own peculiar being." These chapters are well adapted to give a human framework for the more technical considerations of the body of the work.

The book was well worth translating, and the translators have performed their task with exceptional skill. The only jolt we received betraying the fact that the work was a translation was in coming across the phrase, more than once repeated, "the liberty of man," where obviously the translation should be "human freedom" or simply "the freedom of the will."

Notes

PUBLICATIONS of Little, Brown & Company announced for April 28 are as follows: "Star of the Desert," by B. M. Bower; "Six Major Prophets," by Edwin E. Slosson; "Five Plays," by George Fitzmaurice; and "The Candy Cook Book," by Alice Bradley.

"Grapes of Wrath," by Boyd Cable, is announced for immediate publication by E. P. Dutton & Company.

The Macmillan Company announces for publication on April 25 "Jerry of the Islands," by the late Jack London.

Harper & Brothers are publishing this week "Miss Li'l Tweetty," by Louise Clarke Phrynelle; "Strange Stories of the Great Valley," by Johnston Grosvenor, and "Happy: The Life of a Bee," by Walter McCaleb.

The Century Company announces the forthcoming publication of "Present-Day Europe: Its National States of Mind," by T. Lothrop Stoddard; "British Exploits in South America," by W. H. Koebel, and "Inside the British Isles," by Arthur Gleason.

April publications of the Thomas Y. Crowell Company are: "The Immediate Causes of the Great War," by Oliver Perry Chitwood; "New Thought Christianized," by James M. Campbell; "The Spirit of the New Thought," edited by Horatio W. Dresser; "The Treloars," by Mary Fisher, and "How to Develop Your Personality," by Clare Tree Major.

The following are among this month's publications by Charles Scribner's Sons: "The Madness of May," by Meredith Nicholson; "Peter Sanders Retired," by Gordon Hall Gerould; "Anchorage," by Florence Olmstead; "At Plattsburgh," by Allen French; "Greater Italy," by William K. Wallace; "The Social Teachings of the Prophets and Jesus," by Charles Foster Kent; "Faith in Christ," by John J. Moment.

IN "Woman's Suffrage by Constitutional Amendment" (Yale University Press; $1.35 net) Henry St. George Tucker does not argue for or against the extension of the elective franchise to woman. His aim is to show that an amendment to the Federal Constitution granting them the right of suffrage "is opposed to the genius of the instrument itself and subversive of one of the most important principles incorporated in it." That principle was set forth in the original title of the lectures which make up this little volume—"Local Self-Government." He has no difficulty in establishing the proposition that suffrage is now, and under our Federal Constitution has always been, a matter for State regulation. This doctrine has been affirmed and reaffirmed by the Supreme Court, as the reader may learn from the unanimous opinion of that tribunal in Minor vs. Hapersett, 21 Wallace, 162, which is reprinted at pages 178 to 200, and from subsequent decisions. (It may be remarked in passing that the opinion in the Minor case was delivered by Chief Justice Waite, and not by Chief Justice White, as stated on pages 178 and 203.) Mr. Tucker does not doubt the competency of the people of this republic so to amend the Constitution as to withdraw the regulation of suffrage from the States and confer it upon Congress. Nor does he doubt that such a change would be unwise. If the amendment were adopted by the requisite three-fourths of the States, it would be binding upon such States as New York, Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, and New Jersey, which have recently refused to grant suffrage to women. These States would have to bow to the will of others, whose domestic conditions and policies are radically different. This, Mr. Tucker declares, would "naturally arouse a feeling of resentment which will bode no good to the power which has forced this discarded principle upon them." In his opinion, the adoption of an amendment which vitally affects social and political relations, and which has been rejected by large majorities, "would arouse an intense and turbulent feeling among the people of the rejecting States," who would strive to evade its provisions, as those of the fifteenth amendment have been evaded.

THE author's prime contention, however, is not that the proposed amendment would be rendered ineffective by turbulent opposition in the dissenting States, but that its adoption would form an unfortunate precedent. If control of suffrage is to pass from the States to the nation, there

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is no reason why a similar transfer should not be made of the power to regulate the marriage relation, the devolution of property, the sale of liquors, the rules relating to negotiable instruments and to contracts of every kind. Governmental authority would no longer be divided between the States and the nation, but would be centralized in the latter. Local self-government would be weakened and existing constitutional devices for maintaining Federal and State "powers in a just equilibrium for the preservation of the liberty of American citizens" would be destroyed.

HARVARD stands almost alone among the large universities in not requiring the publication of all doctors' dissertations. Long may she continue thus to show her independence! For if ever there is a piece of unmitigated academic foppery, it is this publication requirement. In Germany all dissertations are published, being indications of promise rather than records of achievement. And as a measure of a young man's worth they are no doubt better than the volumes of personal testimonials which candidates for positions in English universities are in the habit of submitting. They reach our libraries in batches at regular intervals, and ever after cumber the shelves undisturbed. We have in this country no such recognized method of public interment. Publication here still implies that an author has something worth saying to a public, however specialized its interest. (We are speaking of the usual run of dissertations in such subjects as philosophy, economics, sociology, history—with a few more exceptions—and literature, not in the natural sciences, where the conditions of the game are different.) We are led to these reflections by the fact that the work before us ("The Problem of Personality: A Critical and Constructive Study in the Light of Recent Thought"; Macmillan; $1.30 net) is a Harvard doctor's dissertation. And it did not have to be published!

THE plan of the work is simple. The author, Mr. Ernest N. Merrington, proposes to discuss personality. Accordingly, he first marshals the views that have been expressed by prominent philosophers of recent times who have laid stress on this problem—two-thirds of the volume. That gives the appearance of *Gründlichkeit*. Then follows his own modest contribution. Had this been written primarily as a book and not as a dissertation, the second part would have been the whole work, the first being merely chips from the workshop, notes taken by the way, to be woven into the argument or discarded as the case might be. As it stands, we have a half-dozen views presented in what is inevitably a sketchy way, a way which does justice neither to the favorable arguments nor to the reasons for discarding other views. They appear as just so many exhibits, *placita philosophorum*. And the critical discussion promised in the sub-title consists mainly in recording the author's personal sentiments, the comments running, "I am in sympathy with" such and such, or, against this view "I contend." In the second part, in presenting his own views, the author "holds," "affirms," "is impelled to believe," many momentous things about reality, value, the universe, and personality, human and divine. Lightly leaping over gaps of logic, hurdling obstacles, cutting knots and affirming them untied, he nimbly leads the gentle reader to the comfortable conclusion that, in spite of all the philosophers have said, the self exists, there is a God, and we shall ultimately see Him face to face. On closing the book, one is tempted to raise the question whether it was altogether fair to a graduate student, even in so generous a field as philosophy, to allow him to "take for his specialty God."

UNDOUBTEDLY inspired by the growing interest in matters military, Capt. (now Major) L. C. Andrews's "Fundamentals of Military Service" (Philadelphia: Lippincott; $1.50 net) differs by its spirit from most books intended to spread a knowledge of the profession of arms. Its purpose is to show the reasons that underlie the rules of that profession, and by so much to prove that these are no mere mechanical processes, but that they strike their roots deep into common-sense and human nature. Hence this book, in respect of its principles, might have been written any time these hundred years, and similarly will be true a century from to-day. And it is a corollary that any man set over others, as for example in a bank or counting house or in road-making, can learn from its pages what will increase his own sense of responsibility, not only to his subordinates, but also to himself. The book was not, however, written for civilians pure and simple, but for our citizen soldiers, and it will be valuable to them (and let us add to our regulars as well) in the ratio of the impression it makes on their being. For example, had the precept (p. 10) to "discard any vague conceptions of discipline as associated only with punishments and brutality. We mean something far higher than that," been observed in a recent case, the country would have been spared a deplorable example of a misguided sense of justice. There is nothing in genuine discipline to injure self-respect; but, like charity, it begins at home, that is, in armed forces, at the top. This idea is never far distant in Major Andrews's book; like the double open diapason of a cathedral organ, it raises and sustains the entire composition. To discourse upon the soul of things, however, is not enough in a practical profession like the soldier's. And so we have, bearing in mind the audience addressed, special chapters on the various arms of the service and on the various duties that come up both in peace and in war. The last seven chapters are based on the Field Service Regulations of the Army. All these chapters are of a practical character; they tell the soldier, whether officer or man, what to do in caring for his men or his horses or his rifle or his health, on the march, in camp, and in battle. The book simplifies the various subjects treated, but it does not make them easy or simple; for in war, as Clausewitz said, although everything is simple, yet the simple is difficult.

IN the biography "Samuel Butler, Author of 'Erewhon'" (Dodd, Mead; $2 net), J. F. Harris has combined what are virtually so many essays on various activities of Butler. In the absence of event or incident in Butler's life the procedure was inevitable. Mr. Harris has put his book together in a sufficiently workmanlike fashion. His main defect is that of condemning wholesale Butler's times—to wit, Victorianism, in order to enhance his hero. Whatever defects are attributable to the reign of the best of queens, wholesale hypocrisy is not one. Were not Thackeray, Thomas Hardy, and Kipling Victorians? The age that invents a Pecksniff is not itself hopelessly Pecksniffian. Aside from this somewhat callow iconoclasm, Mr. Harris's pages are good reading, though he has not unnaturally pressed his refinements upon the theme of irony and satire to the point of tediousness. Moreover, if he is crystal-clear in his indictment of Victorianism, he is somewhat

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diffuse and inconclusive in his constructive championship. He does not meet squarely the real problem of Butler. how far he was playing with everybody, including himself He at once spends upon the vagaries of Butler's criticism of Homer more space than it deserves, and fails to note its significance in marking the limits of Butler's famous hard-headedness. This is merely to say that Mr. Harris, like most who have been allured to the author of "Erewhon," has been fascinated and withal bewildered. The result is a stern attitude towards Butler's background, leaving Butler himself somewhat nebulous. Butler in the notebooks has put the case for himself tersely: "I attached people who were at once unscrupulous and powerful, and I made no alliances. I did this because I did not want to be bored and have my time wasted and my pleasures curtailed" It was this avowed dilettantism that on the whole isolated Butler, and not the two-edged glaive of satire which he swung upon both the church and Darwinism impartially. It is the weakness in his rich nature, and it cannot be explained away by the axiom that in the smug Victorian days a real thinker was perforce driven to cover.

HOW easy is the making of books! That is, for the author. We may well imagine the presses groaning under the lightness of some of the volumes which issue daily to the public. Yet the intent of "Stevenson: How to Know Him," by Prof. Richard Ashley Rice (Bobbs-Merrill; $1.25 net), is laudable. Why should not the charming personality and the varied writings of Stevenson find an even wider public? Why should not the romantic story of his wanderings and his cheerful heroism find an ever-new audience? Not for his achievements in literature, but for the winsomeness of his spirit, should he be remembered. All this the author and expounder feels, yet by lack of incisiveness, by a fluency that borders on the garrulous, he fails to attain his ends. He feels that it is difficult to enmesh the wilful picturesqueness of personality in a web of words not the author's. That partly explains the liberal quotations. But a single volume cannot well contain quotations liberal enough for that purpose. We should drink in large draughts, not be content with scattered sips. Apparently easier of accomplishment would be the disengaging of the spirit and attitude of Stevenson. Surely some divining of his essence, some penetrating to the underlying philosophy of his work, is possible to the discerning critic—and altogether desirable. But the present author appears never to come to grips with his subject. Many sensible remarks he offers on a wide variety of selections, and many acceptable observations on Stevenson's life and his achievement. But the revealing tone of an impelling conviction does not ring in his voice. Is it owing to this lack of zealous absorption in his task that he refers (p. 131) to Stevenson's celebrated lady companion in the Cévennes as "Modeste"?

IT was to be expected that sooner or later some one would apply to Shakespeare the anthropological formulæ which have latterly intrigued the study of Greek tragedy. This has now been attempted by Janet Spens in "An Essay on Shakespeare's Relation to Tradition" (Oxford: Blackwell). The author is a disciple of both Gilbert Murray and A. C. Bradley, and her essay has enough of the ingenuity and charm of its spiritual fathers to make one glad that since the thing evidently had to be done it was at least done cleverly. Needless to say, it will carry no great amount of conviction; in too many respects it is a reduction to the absurd of a method over which, at its best, many judicious have shaken their heads. It begins innocently enough with an elaboration of Douce's suggestion of Munday's novel "Zelauto" as a possible source of the "Merchant of Venice," a point distinctly worth making. But pretty soon Munday is introduced as the probable author of Gosson's "Jew" and of the "Two Italian Gentlemen," plays probably known to Shakespeare, all of which is chiefly a make-weight to the contention, which hardly admits of denial, that there is probably some connection between the Robin Hood elements in "As You Like It" and the "Robert, Earl of Huntington" plays of Munday and Chettle. But where ordinary people would incline to ascribe these greenwood features to Shakespeare's reflection of a passing vogue of the playhouses, our anthropologist critic regards them as central; to the original folk play we must penetrate in despite of all that time and the author have put in our way to throw us off the scent; and from the folk play we go to the festival, of which the play is merely the *aition*, the *pourquoi*, the explanation. The thesis we are asked to consider is that Shakespeare after his earliest work "used a folk play habitually as the nucleus of his comedies"; in illustration of which it is argued that "All's Well" is a Shrovetide play, "Twelfth Night" a Winter Feast play, while "A Midsummer Night's Dream" celebrates the High Summer Feast, and "As You Like It" is built round a folk play of Robin Hood, associated with the May Feast. The correspondences are sometimes ingenious, but the fun goes too far when we are asked to regard the melancholy Jacques and Antonio the merchant ("tainted wether of the flock"!) as technically scapegoats (*pharmakoi*) and Lear as a vegetation hero. The treatment of tragedy does not fall so pat. The things we are looking for in Shakespeare can only be "dimly traced," and precisely what it is we are looking for does not become perfectly discernible. The assumption of an earlier Macbeth in which Macdo(n)wald was of nearly equal importance with the titular hero exemplifies a method which, however it may fare in the twilight dawn of the ancient world, becomes as it enters the realm of modern literature easily apprehended for the thing it is.

THERE is a fluent persuasion in Harendranath Maitra's "Hinduism the World-Ideal" (Dodd, Mead; $1.25 net) for those readers whose critical apparatus is readily discarded in the face of any sentimental appeal wafted by a nebulous and all-embracing orientalism. But not even a case of special pleading can go far in these days of a more generally diffused knowledge about the ancient home of creeds and cults than was abroad at the time of the famous Chicago Congress. Mr. Chesterton writes a typical introduction, but we miss the paradoxical remark we somehow expected about books written to explain the East to the West being the best books for the East to read. It soon becomes apparent, however, that his hint of a theocratic chaos in India is taken to heart by the author, and we have the usual meticulous résumé of the post-epic period in Hindu society. The author's fervor, like that of the late Sister Nivedita and of Mrs. Annie Besant, successfully fuses past and present in a millennial ideal, taking no account of the steady decline of Hinduism or the accretions of abuse that it has acquired since that romantic period, and especially offering no suggestion of the need for reform in decadent

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Hinduism of the present day that is now engrossing the attention of the various reform *samājes* of young, progressive Hindus. Instead, the author has evoked a sort of glittering, Oriental time-spirit, and the obvious juxtaposition with Western materialism makes imperative our immediate adoption of his vague world-ideal. The misleading platitudes with which the chapters on Caste, on the position of the depressed classes and of the Hindu women are encrusted are typical and familiar enough in American drawing-rooms. It were impossible, however, to take up all of Mr. Maitra's sins of omission in this limited space. It will suffice to indicate that a reading of his eloquent book, together with Mr. Chesterton's introduction, should prove of greater service in the land of Hinduism, translated into the vernacular, and widely distributed among the millions of adherents who are still ignorant of its once potential past and of its need of adjusting itself to the present.

MADISON GRANT has brought to bear distinct qualities of originality, conviction, and courage in "The Passing of the Great Race" (Scribner; $2 net). Its originality is well emphasized by Prof. Henry F. Osborn, who says, in his preface to the volume: "European history has been written in terms of nationality and of language, but never before in terms of race; yet race has played a far larger part than either language or nationality in moulding the destinies of men; race implies heredity, and heredity implies all the moral, social, and intellectual characteristics and traits which are the springs of politics and government. Quite independently and unconsciously the author, never before an historian, has turned this historical sketch into the current of a great biological movement," which compels us "to recognize the superior force and stability of heredity as being more enduring and potent than environment." The sustained and battering arguments presenting biological, historical, and psychic facts in support of his belief leave us in no doubt of the author's conviction, while his courage is evident in his argument that environment and education "have an immediate, apparent, and temporary influence, while heredity has a deep, subtle, and permanent influence on the actions of men." We may not be prepared to accept certain of the arguments, a few hastily conceived generalizations, or a scattering of over-emphasized facts, but these are humanly natural accompaniments of the pioneer presentation of a subject, novel and of distinct importance. The treatise presents an admirable reaction from the extreme socialistic views so rife at present. A brief for gentlemen and aristocracy is a wholesome change from the eternal bid for equality, "the unending wail for rights" on the part of *hoi polloi*. The superficial, militant socialist will condemn the thesis wholesale, accusing the author, after a hasty glance here and there, of favoring slavery, of fostering snobbery. Careful, temperate perusal, such as the volume deserves, will reveal the reverse of these beliefs, and an historical concept of the truths of racial evolution which as a whole is unanswerable.

THE first part of the book is general in character, being concerned with race, language, and nationality, more especially the habitat, the competition, and the language of races. Part II deals with European races in history. Three brief chapters present a résumé of our knowledge of prehistoric man in the stone and bronze ages. It is interesting to note that the detailed treatment begins where Professor Osborn's recent monumental work on "Men of the Old Stone Age" leaves off, and in certain ways may be regarded as directly supplemental. The second half of the book is devoted to an application of the abstract concepts earlier elaborated. It treats consecutively of the Alpine, Mediterranean, and Nordic Races, and presents as thoroughly as possible an epitome of the development, spread, and varied ultimate crossings and achievements of the "Great" or Nordic Race. Herein Mr. Grant's enthusiasm has led to occasional overestimates, and to the belief in the Nordic blood of certain historically dominant personages and peoples of whom we have not convincing knowledge. But is is impossible not to be imbued with his sincere intention, and whether the reader be brachy- or dolichocephalic, brunette or blond, the book cannot but bring some vivid appeal. Slight reference is made to the European war, but the application of all the data which Mr. Grant has assembled to the causes, psychology, and ultimate results of this conflict is plainly evident. This and the intelligent attention which is directed to the unparalleled mixing of races in our own country are the two most potent memories of a perusal of this volume. The consideration of history from so unusual a point of view is greatly aided by the schedules of dates and especially by the colored maps indicating the routes of migration, expansion, and distribution of European races from 3000 B. C. to the present time. A bibliography and thorough index round out a volume of marked originality and considerable interest.

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John G. Johnson

ON Friday, April 13, the great corporation lawyer and art collector, John G. Johnson, died suddenly and peacefully in his Philadelphia home. He was a man of potent integrity and originality, one of the most distinctive figures America has produced in our time. Twice he refused a seat in the Supreme Court, once the high office of Attorney-General. For years he had been the acknowledged head of the American bar. His pleadings in the Sugar and United States Steel suits are historic, and just before his death he won an important suit against the Du Pont Powder Co. No man was ever more signally devoted to his profession, or more averse to the publicity involved in great success. The LL.D. degree which he accepted from Princeton was at his wish conferred not at an occasion of ceremony, but *in camera*.

His waiver of the highest honors of his profession was due to a sense of the duty he owed the community. He held the severest standards of professional rectitude. Repeatedly he declined fees that he considered excessive. To the end his office accepted the smallest business for obscure persons, and Mr. Johnson often gave to such cases his personal attention. "I should be ashamed of receiving more than the worth of a service," was his remark when he learned that in a famous suit certain New York associates had intended to get for him three times the fee he actually charged. No one knew better the border line of right and wrong in corporation finance. Towards double dealing he was inflexible. At the time of the investigation of the life-insurance companies I heard him characterize certain procedures as common stealing.

It is remarkable that a man of humble origin and of relentless application in his profession should have left a lasting mark as a collector and connoisseur of art. In such taste and knowledge he had no real rival among our great collectors except Mr. and Mrs. H. O. Havemeyer and Mrs. John L. Gardner. He was born in Philadelphia in 1841, the son of a blacksmith father and a milliner mother. Unaided he achieved his education in the public schools and in the Law School of the University of Pennsylvania, entering on his merits the office of Benjamin Rush, and in his early twenties building up a fine practice of his own. Long before he had attained wealth he began collecting pictures. He began with superficial examples of the Fortuny school. Soon his taste steadied and broadened and he accumulated in great numbers the choicest examples of the men of 1830, Corot, Rousseau, Daubigny, Millet, by whom he owned the finest pastels. He followed the Barbizon men back to their great precursor. His group of sketches by John Constable is excelled in only one English gallery. He reached back to the French Romantics, Decamps, Delacroix, Barye, Daumier. He added the best Americans, only to part with them later, Wyant, Winslow Homer. His appreciation promptly followed the shifting phases of the art of the end of the last century. He acquired the best Whistlers, whether the nocturnes or the Japanese fantasies. He got splendid examples of the Impressionists Manet and Monet. He owned Puvis de Chavannes's stately studies for the decorations at Amiens. The more sensitive and recondite masters, Eugène Carnère, Thys Maris, equally appealed to him, and he was one of the earliest American buyers of the drastic perfection of Degas.

Not content with this extraordinary achievement in taste and catholicity he turned in his later years to the old masters. The realists of the Dutch and Flemish schools remained his longest and firmest love. His robustness, probity, and humor went out to meet the kindred qualities in the so-called Little Masters. Nowhere except at Antwerp are there such sketches of Rubens; only Munich boasts such Brouwers. The searching and mysterious art of Rembrandt is represented in every phase. The courtly painters, Terburg, Metsu, and the rarest of all, Vermeer, are present. The racy Jan Steen allured him; so did the solemn or gracious landscapists, Ruysdael, Cuyp, Hobbema. By such stages he approached the primitives of all schools. Since the fashion is now for the Gothic and transitional painting, whether of Flanders, Germany, France, Spain, or Italy, this portion of the Johnson collection is best known and needs slightest comment. Mr. Johnson judiciously temporized with the opportunities of the market, now acquiring such great names as Jan van Eyck, Rogier de la Pasture, Antonello da Messina, Botticelli, Giovanni Bellini, Crivelli, and again contenting himself with delightful nameless school pieces. At one time or another his interest touched every important phase of European painting. We can think of none that is slighted except the rococo school of France. And those who knew Mr. Johnson know that he was incapable of pretending to get the fullest satisfaction from the delicate masquerading of Watteau and his followers. The blacksmith's son never endured gladly fools, bores, and marquises in the pastoral vein.

Mr. Johnson's methods as a collector were highly personal and effective. He made annual explorations of Europe to study in the museums and to locate his prey in private collections. He was a cautious constant bidder at the auctions of Paris, Berlin, London, and Rome. He left standing offers with private owners, and by sheer gravitation in the course of years fine paintings poured into the house on South Broad Street. As Mr. Johnson ever refused to take an exaggerated fee for a legal service, so he declined to pay an unreasonable price for a picture. He was rich, but there was none of the mere weight of money in his collecting. Of acquisition he made a fine art, paying much of the price in his own knowledge and skill. He cut through the mystification that surrounds the picture business. Dealers often told him what pictures cost them and trusted him to apportion a just profit. Finding that a certain firm in Paris constantly outbid him in the auction room, he wrote that he wanted to make the acquaintance of people of such kindred taste. It was the beginning of fruitful business relations and of real friendship. Though his own predilections were positive, he sometimes bought pictures he had not seen when recommended by persons whom he trusted. There was thus a mixture of prudence and audacity in his policy, and its triumph is the fifteen hundred or more pictures on his walls.

No great collector in America compared with him in scholarship. In constant association with the irritable race of connoisseurs and experts, he weighed their opinions and formed his own conclusions. The splendid catalogue which he printed privately a few years ago under the editorship of Berenson and Valentiner was in itself a notable contribution to the history of art. About his own opinions there was nothing loose or inspirational. He knew what he liked, and he knew why. His talk among his pictures was vivid and often enlightening. It is odd to read in the

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Philadelphia papers that he was a recluse. The truer statement would be that his social contacts were limited to those that had to do with art. Sunday by Sunday a chosen group of guests came to him. It was a matter of no perfunctory visitation, but a memorable all-day affair. New acquisitions were propped up in a convenient chair and discussed in all lights. Old favorites were plucked out of serried rows of pictures stacked up against the wall. Racy anecdotes of the picture quest were recounted. There was a Lucullan luncheon. Great people and enthusiastic nobodies were thus welcomed. There was an unfailing influx of European visitants, great dealers, collectors, experts, mere political or literary celebrities. There was abundant good talk, and equal opportunity for silent converse with the masterpieces quaintly crowded on the walls and on the very doors. A time will come when it will be grateful to remember those Sundays. Now the pang is deep that they are to be no more.

Perhaps the limitations of Mr. Johnson's taste were almost as instructive as its positive virtues. The sense of *ensemble* was simply left out of him. He had the deepest perception of the single picture, and the gift of seeing one picture at a time. He treated pictures as a good reader treats books, going to the shelf for the one he craves. The arrangement—it is hardly the word—of the pictures on the wall was never in his mind an exhibition, but merely a convenient form of storage. Two years before his death he was fairly snowed under by his treasures, like the scholar in the adorable preface to Anatole France's "Les Pingouins" buried in his own notes. Mr. Johnson extricated himself masterfully. Buying a larger mansion alongside his own, he constructed a provisional bridge and transported the pictures to a place where all could have wall space. An ingenious arrangement of electric lights made it possible to study any picture separately. The installation still left much to be desired in a decorative way, but it was and is ideal for one who, like Mr. Johnson, studies pictures. There are no allurements to distract from concentration on the particular work. Thus in the rearranged collection Mr. Johnson left a very interesting monument of his own way of enjoying pictures. If, as it is reported, the house as now hung is to be given to the city of Philadelphia, it will become of all public museums one of the most useful to the special student. The pure dilettante will perhaps find it bewildering. It will require effort to discover the extraordinary richness of the display.

Mr. Johnson's influence on the development of art in America was far-reaching. He was for years the guiding spirit in the Wilstach Museum, and an influential trustee of the Metropolitan Museum. His advice was widely sought by other Philadelphia collectors. He was a liberal supporter of various meritorious art magazines in England and America, and most generous in facilitating the study of his pictures by scholars of every land.

His body was as robust and massive as his mind was large and generous. There was about him a great heartiness and geniality, and despite a brusqueness of manner, which well befitted his character, a genuine moral delicacy. He loved fine things in action as he did in art; he hated pretence or affectation of any sort. Such loyalty and forcefulness are rarely enough combined with the grace of real learning and exquisite taste. All in all, he was one of the greatest Americans of our time, and one of the greatest collectors of all times.

FRANK JEWETT MATHER, JR.

Notes from the Capital

The American Ambassador at Petrograd

IF there is one American citizen anywhere who is enjoying to the utmost his chance to watch history in the making, it is David Rowland Francis, former merchant, Mayor, Governor, and Cabinet officer, and present Ambassador at Petrograd. He always loves to be in the thick of things, and the thicker the better. Moreover, the way the revolution in Russia was managed must have stirred a responsive chord in his heart, for it is the way he likes to tackle a big job himself, wasting as little time as possible in parley, but just going ahead and doing it. He was Governor of Missouri in 1889 when New York held her celebration of the centenary of President Washington's inauguration. Having a strong desire that Missouri, which had held a little aloof from so many affairs where leading States were interested, should be creditably represented in the military pageant on this occasion, he arranged for a special train and notified a crack battalion of the militia to be at the station at a given time. The Legislature, however, had not yet furnished the money to prepay the cost of transportation; and when the troops in their full-dress uniforms, and he in the shiniest of top-hats, were about to board the train, the local agent of the railroad company halted further proceedings with a demand for the fares. The Governor protested, but in vain. "No cash, no train!" was the ultimatum. The situation was embarrassing, for the crowd that had gathered to see the party off were beginning to chaff the militiamen. Convinced that the agent meant what he said, Francis quietly stepped into the waiting-room, borrowed a pen at the ticket-window, and drew his personal check for the $14,000 needed to release the train and assure Missouri of figuring among the elect at the commemoration. Of course, the bill afterwards went to the State, and a few "wilful men" in the Legislature stamped their feet and vowed that they would not pay it till the day of judgment.

"Oh, very well," responded Francis, imperturbably; "but meanwhile, to make sure that it is not forgotten, we'll keep it before every session till it is paid." It did not take long to satisfy the lawmakers that this was no idle threat and, taking counsel of their prudence, they gave up the fight and passed the appropriation.

The approach of the centenary of the Louisiana Purchase found a good many business men of St. Louis anxious for some sort of a celebration which should bring their city, as the metropolis of the ceded territory, to the notice of the whole world in the manner that the Columbian Exposition had advanced the interests of Chicago. Just what form it should take was a question. Some favored the erection of a statue of President Jefferson, to the dedication of which the great men of all countries should be invited. Others preferred a fine memorial park, others still a monumental building for the housing and display of historical relics, pictures, and documents bearing on the Purchase and contemporary events. Francis had set his heart on a World's Fair. A conference of the Governors of all the States carved out of the Territory of Louisiana was called to meet in St. Louis, and promptly voted for the Francis idea. Then arose a few cavillers who remarked that nobody thereabout knew how world's fairs were run; but this

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only brought out the fact that Francis, having cherished his scheme in the back of his mind for a good while, had rented a house in Chicago in the summer of 1893 and made a systematic study of that very matter of methods, thus putting himself into an excellent state of preparation against the coming of the day when his dream might be realized.

"We can't handle this big enterprise without Government aid," was the next comment of the skeptics.

"Certainly not," said Francis. "Let's attend to that at once." And at the head of a strong committee he started for Washington. The first man to see there was President McKinley, who, regardless of their political differences, liked Francis and men of his stripe. With the President's aid, Congress at its next session was persuaded to pledge the Government for $5,000,000, conditioned on the raising of $10,000,000 by St. Louis. It required the adoption of two new amendments to the State Constitution to procure $6,000,000 from the State and city treasuries, but Francis and his staff carried that through, and the momentum thus gained for the project brought out the remaining $4,000,000 in subscriptions, privilege purchases, and the like. Naturally, the chief engineer of the scheme was made president of the exposition. At the outset of his administration he was confronted by a new problem: the nations of the Old World had not been at all enthusiastic in responding to our Government's invitation to participate—there were too many home troubles breaking out or brewing, and, besides, their opinion was that world's fairs had been somewhat overdone.

"We must see about that," remarked Francis; and off he started for Europe, where he interviewed perhaps a dozen kings and emperors and similar big folk, returning fairly loaded down with promises. One of the finest exhibits he procured was from that notorious personage, Kaiser William II, who fought shy of him at first, but was regularly "talked over."

These are all old stories now, but they are illustrative of the man; and when you know Francis, with his six feet of stature, his broad shoulders, his Welsh forehead and blue eyes, his persistent mouth and chin, and what some one has styled his "pervasive and persuasive" way of going at a task, you rather wonder at his not bringing back from the courts of the other hemisphere a bagful of crown jewels as well as acceptances. His whole career, from the time when, as a schoolboy in Richmond, Ky., he beat the other urchins at selling newspapers, has emphasized the value of personality as a fluid asset in business. Without it he could hardly have borrowed the money to put himself through college, or shot forward in a few years from a minor clerkship in a commission house to a partnership in the same concern, and then to the head of a big business of his own and the direction of several successful financial corporations. You will observe, perhaps, that his advice to our Government to recognize the Provisional Government in Russia reached Washington about as soon as the news of the revolution; and if he does not bring back, with his retirement, some valuable ideas for enlarging the commercial relations between Russia and the United States, with special reference to the trade of his beloved St Louis, it will be because his adventure in international diplomacy has paralyzed his once dominant business instinct.

TATTLER

Reviews of Plays

"COLONEL NEWCOME"

WHETHER you call it a dramatization or an adaptation, any attempt to put "The Newcomes" on the stage is, of course, preposterous. It is an attempt to make drama out of material that is essentially non-dramatic. One might take a character like Colonel Newcome and exhibit its nobility and dignity in a dramatic setting of circumstances not unlike those used in the story, but the result would owe just about as much to Thackeray as this season's spectacular production of "The Wanderer" owes to the Bible. Or one might reproduce on the stage a series of scenes from the novel, but the result would be simply to impart speech and movement to *tableaux vivants*. In the one case it would not be Thackeray, in the other it would not be drama. Michael Morton's adaptation, presented by Sir Herbert Tree at the New Amsterdam Theatre, is not Thackeray, nor is it drama, nor is it one of the alternatives that we have suggested. It is an attempt to make drama out of a novel whose chief distinctions are of a non-dramatic order, and like all attempts of the kind it fails, only it fails more egregiously than some others. It is incoherent, disordered, episodic. One would say that the action dragged intolerably, except that the sequence of events here presented cannot properly be termed action. The more one loves Thackeray the less one will like Mr. Morton.

Nevertheless, the production is interesting and well worth seeing simply for sake of the fine characterization of Colonel Newcome given by Sir Herbert Tree, which should rank as one of the most successful of his rôles. Sir Herbert Tree's interpretation will not satisfy everybody's conception of Colonel Newcome, but it is a characterization of consummate skill, marked by sympathy and understanding, distinguished and consistent throughout, and giving evidence of meticulous study of every word and gesture. The rest of the large cast are for the most part adequate to their respective tasks, although their rôles, consisting, as most of them do, of mere snatches of conversation, afford only limited opportunities. Warburton Gamble merits high praise for his excellent conception and consistent performance of the unlovely part of Sir Barnes Newcome. Sydney Greenstreet's Fred Bayham is an amusing study; the veteran G. W. Anson gives character to the old butler, Martin, and Miss Adelaide Prince stands out among the women of the cast by a beautifully finished performance of Madame de Florac. The stage settings and Sir Herbert Tree's production in general are in all respects admirable.

S. W.

"THE VERY MINUTE"

UNDER the management of David Belasco, Mr. Arnold Daly has begun an engagement which we fear, owing to the nature of the play, written by Mr. John Meehan, is not likely to reinstate him in popular favor. The play is indeed largely balderdash, and balderdash, unlike pure bombast, must prove fatal to even so excellent a company of actors as Mr. Belasco has provided. For there is a serious wrongheadedness in the depicting of the central character which leaves the critic helpless to judge him. If he is to be taken mainly as a pathological character—as towards

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the end he styles himself when his resistance to liquor entirely breaks down—then the situations are not skilfully enough contrived to make him emotionally interesting. If the prize is given by the author to the smart philosophy which his feverish brain opposes to those who would help him to his feet, then Mr. Meehan would have been well advised not to invade Bernard Shaw's province, for he exhibits no dazzling cleverness, and is in fact often wearisome, in spite of his fluency.

The story is of so little worth in forming an estimate of this play that we may leave it out of account, except to say that the scene is laid in a small Eastern town, the seat of a university, and that the president of this institution, now retiring on account of his age and infirmities, desires to see his son succeed him. He has no inkling of the son's weakness, and his discovery of it will, as the audience is fully aware, serve as the climax in the young man's career. Meanwhile, we listen to much nonsense uttered by this distorted young person and become tired of watching him drink fifty—it must have been fifty—small glasses of brandy. F.

"THE KNIFE"

UNLIKE the cobbler, Mr. Eugene Walter might profitably (we cannot say with commercial profit) change his last. "The Easiest Way" was an effective drama, and in the gutter undoubtedly there is material for another successful play; but a person of Mr. Walter's qualifications is tempting fate by wallowing in it. In the present instance the gutter is tricked out by such ingenuity that we seem to be concerned with the experiments of dignified science. Precisely what experiments are being carried on by the ambitious young surgeon who serves as hero are not indicated. But we hear that the doctor, having advanced by means of vivisection with animals as far as it is possible to go, has come very close to shady practice upon human beings. Indeed, the prosecuting attorney has him "on the list." Yet such are the demands of Science that he must proceed with his experiments in spite of the risk. The problem is to find human beings over whom he will receive no bitter complaints. This is where the gutter comes in, for his fiancée has been the victim of foul treatment. In reality the scientific portions of the play are the veriest buncombe; what is counted upon to hold the audience is the glimpse into a white-slave den disguised as the rooms of a fortune teller. To some who have seen this performance at the new Bijou Theatre it has seemed a pity that a good cast, containing Robert Edeson, Olive Wyndham, and Lowell Sherman, should go through the motions of solemn drama in the interest of meretricious artifice. F.

"GRASSHOPPER"

THEATREGOERS who looked to see in this play by Padraic Colum and Mrs. F. E. Washburn Freund a rather profitless exploitation of Home Rule found a delightful drama of Irish domestic life. It is not a play for which the promise of popularity can be held out, yet it deserves to have full audiences for the series of matinées to which it will be confined at Maxine Elliott's Theatre, after being transferred from the Garrick. The authors have been most successful in reproducing what is conceived by the American at least to be Irish atmosphere. Here are to be found the gallantry and generosity of swains, the coquetry of damsels, the inexpensive pleasures which constitute the diversions of even holiday occasions, the whole fused by a mysticism tinged with religion.

The plot is simple to a degree. The wife of Michael Dempsey lies sick unto death. Dempsey's illegitimate daughter, to whom the wife alone has been kind, desires to save the life of her benefactress, and following the dictates of an old legend seeks out the "Black Chapel" and offers her life for the other's. Only she does not wish to die immediately, since she fancies that the lover of Michael's daughter is really enamoured of her. In reality he is attentive to her, innocently so, merely to pique his sweetheart, who has been treating him badly. The scene in which "Grasshopper," seated with him in the wood, indulges her illusion is prettily contrived and is played with great delicacy both by Eileen Huban, who shows much promise, and by John P. Campbell. The girl's imagination plays round the situation with the variety of her introspective nature and is met by the man's bluff but kindly indulgence of her antics. In the end, of course, she learns the truth, after realizing which it is easy for her to allow herself to be sacrificed. Indeed, she herself becomes the agent of her taking off by swallowing an overdose of the strong drops left to quiet the sick woman. And it is given us to infer that the latter recovers.

In such a play as this Mr. Colum's fancy is seen at its best. F.

"DISRAELI"

NEW YORK appears likely to agree with Mr. Arliss, who in his curtain speeches on the first and second nights excused his revival of "Disraeli" at the Knickerbocker Theatre on the ground that it was timely. Certainly present events tend to make more commanding than ever the bizarre figure of the genius who acquired for the British Empire the Suez Canal and added to the titles of its sovereign that of Empress of India; but timely or not, the present revival of Louis N. Parker's frankly theatrical play needs no excuse. It is admirably done by a cast which is competent throughout, although Mr. Arliss himself (in make-up a replica of the great statesman and in manner plausible enough to pass muster), Miss Margaret Dale as Mrs. Noel Travers, and Miss Lelia Repton as the Duchess are the only members of the original company. For the rest, Mrs. Arliss gives a notably sympathetic rendering of Lady Beaconsfield (why the devoted "Mary" should be represented as having acquired the title while her husband remains plain Mister is an unfathomable enigma), and Miss Jeanne Eagels adds intelligent interpretation to much natural charm in a delightful performance of Lady Clarissa. S. W.

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Finance

War Markets and War Taxes

NO one need wonder that the Stock Exchange, in the market's movement last week as well as the week before, should mostly have expressed bewilderment. Reflecting as its action usually does the feeling of the community at large, no other attitude could fit the events which have been rushing to so extraordinary a climax. For the rapidity with which these events have crowded on one another's heels, since April 2, there is no parallel except for the memorable fortnight which began July 31, 1914. The parallel with that beginning of the war is in many ways significant. Difficult as it is, in the present swift changes of the scene, to get a foothold from which events can be surveyed in large perspective, there is no doubt of the increasing conviction, in very many minds, that militant Germany is crumpling up.

Few experienced observers are predicting sudden and immediate collapse; our own Government is rightly conducting its plans and preparations on the assumption of a stubborn conflict, and nobody feels sure of the actual course of things, even with a defeated Germany. But the point of view changes very rapidly nowadays, and the break in the "Hindenburg line," the progressive rupture of diplomatic relations with Germany by the states of North and South America as well as Asia, the new tone of the German press, the Kaiser's efforts to quiet domestic unrest by promises of political concessions, the rumors of separate overtures by Germany's allies, all indicate to financial markets, as to the rest of the outside world, a situation which must in the nature of things foreshadow even larger changes.

However this may be, and quite aside from the sense of astonishment and confusion which it shares with public opinion generally, the Stock Exchange is confronted in a peculiar manner with a dilemma of its own. It now has to consider the economic influence, on the one hand, of continued war under circumstances of insufficient harvests and greatly increased strain on capital; on the other hand, of comparatively early ending of the war and beginning of the period of readjustment. As to the second consideration, it may at least be said that our own participation in the war, with the arrangement of our home affairs which will accompany it, is likely to provide the simplest transition from the recent extravagant ideas of "war profits" and financial "war values" to the time when the abnormal orders which created them will stop.

The industries concerned are already agreeing to forego a great part of such profits on our Government's orders. Whether they will have to take similar action when the Allies' war orders are financed by our Government, remains to be seen, and so does the question of taxation. From the standpoint of these companies and of the financial markets generally, the "peace readjustment," whether it comes soon or only after long delay, will bring a greatly alleviated shock. But this in turn means that the Stock Exchange, and along with it American finance, trade, and industry, will now have a better chance to measure the larger and beneficent influence of returning peace.

In the matter of the demands on capital which our own war budget will invoke, three mistakes of policy were possible—inadequate provision, excessive borrowing at a single moment, or a programme of hasty, hot-headed, and oppressive taxation. Happily, the present indications are that all three will be avoided. There is certainly no prospect of insufficient provision of resources. Early misgivings, as to a possible purpose of offering all the $5,000,000,000 bonds at once, appear now to have been unfounded. Congress has not yet taken up the question of new revenue, but the course of legislative discussion thus far suggests a carefully thought-out general plan, with the House itself apparently in the mood for acting soberly and intelligently.

If there were any real probability that the stupid and possibly malicious propaganda for conducting the war through a largely confiscatory income tax would be seriously considered, the proposal might call for discussion. But while the rightfulness of largely increased taxation—on incomes and business profits as well as elsewhere—is admitted everywhere, every one familiar with the most elementary principles of war finance knows, first, that excessively drastic imposts should be held in reserve by a prudent belligerent; next, that at some point class taxation of an excessive character must inevitably injure a market for public loans; finally, that all experience prescribes as wise policy in war finance the fixing at the start of taxes which may be instantaneously levied, instantaneously collected, and, when occasion warrants, instantaneously removed.

Jay Cooke and the Union Bonds

IMPENDING issue by the United States Government of the greatest "popular loan" in history recalls to many minds another similar episode—similar yet contrasting—of half a century ago. In 1862 the Government was confronted with alarming conditions in selling bonds to conduct the Civil War. In that fiscal year it obtained only $14,000,000 from the "five-twenty" loan, as it was popularly called, and to the end of November it had received only $24,000,000. So great were the difficulties of the Secretary that he finally determined to turn the task over to a "general agent," and for this purpose he obtained the services of Jay Cooke. Secretary Chase said in his annual report of 1863:

> Under this plan, and chiefly through the indefatigable efforts of the general agent and his sub-agents, five-twenty bonds to the amount of nearly four hundred millions of dollars were distributed throughout the whole country not controlled by the rebellion, and among all classes of our countrymen. The history of the world may be searched in vain for a parallel case of popular financial support to a national government.

In his letter to Jay Cooke, in October, 1862, asking him to accept the agency, Secretary Chase wrote that, if he would undertake the task of raising $1,000,000 a day, he would be allowed a commission of ½ of 1 per cent. on the first ten millions and ¼ of 1 per cent. on all the excess, in consideration of which he should select his own sub-agents, allow them at least ⅛ of 1 per cent. on the first $10,000,000 and one-tenth on the excess, and himself pay all the expenses of advertising, circulars, and so on.

Mr. Cooke entered upon his task with promptness and energy. Before long he had under his direction more than 2,500 sub-agents. He sent out travelling agents to confer with bankers, establish sub-agencies, visit newspaper editors, and act for him in fields which he could not personally reach. He occasionally went into the market to support

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Government stocks. He gave the movement such an impetus that it suffered no important abatement until the entire authorized loan of 500 millions was distributed. Indeed, it was oversubscribed, and 515 millions had been sold before Jay Cooke could bring his machinery to a standstill.

In popularizing and selling the 5.20 loan, Mr. Cooke largely relied upon the newspapers, although circulars, posters, and the conversational powers of his agents and solicitors were also freely and successfully utilized. "Never before or since in this country, if in any land," says his biographer, "has the press been subsidized in the same large and systematic manner." The newspapers were stirred up to support the loan. The sub-agents and travelling representatives in all parts of the country made it a prime point, upon their principal's urgent request, to visit and advise with the editors of papers printed in all languages in their respective communities.

The popular canvass was immensely helped by the "coupon bond" device, which then for the first time became familiar to the American people. Somehow, the sight of actual detachable coupons good for cash, on a $100 bond, at the rate of $3 on the first of every May and November between 1864 and 1884, struck every thrifty American's imagination. For Cooke reached newspapers published in foreign languages as well as those printed in English. He wrote catechisms; one of the earliest, addressed to farmers and mechanics, was entitled "The Best Way to Put Money Out at Interest."

His nine general agents were constantly in motion; travelling throughout the country, conferring with bankers, brokers, and editors in the interest of the loan, distributing circulars and posting bills at public places, hotels, railway stations, court houses, post offices, reading-rooms, and upon walls, telegraph poles, and the trunks of trees. The effort to sell the bonds was confined to no neighborhood or class of citizens, and many subscriptions were obtained in the localities which, in the language of the day, were "Copperhead" or even openly "Secesh."

These arrangements enabled the canvassing system to reach into every nook and corner of the country, and to obtain the money of the man or woman who perhaps had but $50 or $100 to invest. The newspapers in hamlets and villages, especially in the Western States, called to the support of the Government the farmers, who emptied their stockings and brought forth the store from under the rafters. The newspapers published the total sum of popular subscriptions to the loan day by day. At the end of March, 1863, subscriptions were being received at the rate of about one million dollars daily, and they soon reached $1,250,000.

Night agencies were established in all of the large cities at which mechanics and factory employees could subscribe for the bonds. Clergymen were visited by Jay Cooke's travelling agents and were asked to advise their parishioners to subscribe. Advertisements were published calling for "Your Sons and your Money on your Country's Altar." There seems to be no record of the number of separate individual subscriptions obtained by this stirring canvass. But the scale on which the money flowed in may be judged from the fact, incidentally, that in one day early in 1865 there were received 3,150 separate subscriptions for $50 and $100 bonds; on the next day, 2,816; three days afterward, 6,581. This was a wholly unheard-of response, in those days of small things in finance.

BOOKS OF THE WEEK

MISCELLANEOUS.

Bullard, A. Mobilizing America. Macmillan. 50 cents net.
Coriat, I. H. What Is Psycho-Analysis? Moffat, Yard. 75 cents.
A Bibliography of Thomas Gray. Compiled by C. S. Northup. Yale University Press. $3 net.
Branford, B. Janus and Vesta. Stokes.
Crabb, G. English Synonyms. Introduction by J. H. Finley. Harper. $1.25 net.
In the War. Memoirs of V. Veresáev. Translated by Leo Wiener. Mitchell Kennerley. $2 net.
Jarintzov, N. The Russians and Their Language. Mitchell Kennerley.
Ku'suh, K. Y. The Judgment of the Orient. Dutton. 60 cents.
McClure, S. S. Obstacles to Peace. Houghton Mifflin. $2 net.
McCormick, F. The Menace of Japan. Little, Brown. $2 net.
Marcosson, I. F. Leonard Wood, Prophet of Preparedness. Lane. 75 cents net.
Montague, M. P. Twenty Minutes of Reality. Dutton.
Mount Rainier. A Record of Explorations. Edited by E. S. Meany. Macmillan.
On the Tercentenary Commemoration of Shakespeare Ultima Thule Sendeth Greeting. An Icelandic Poem by Matthias Jochumsson. Translated into English by I. Gollancz. Oxford University Press. 1s. net.
Pan-Germanism versus Christendom. An Open Letter by M. Emile Prum. Edited with comments by R. Johannet. Doran. $1 net.
Publications of the American Sociological Society. Vol. XI. Managing editor, Scott E. W. Bedford. University of Chicago Press. $1.50 net.
Robinson, E. M. Tennyson's Use of the Bible. Johns Hopkins Press. $1.50.
Shellrud, H. G. Twenty-eight Years of Interesting Experience. Badger. $1.35 net.
Smith, G. E. Ships as Evidence of the Migrations of Early Culture. Longmans, Green.
Smith, O. W. Trout Lore. Stokes. $2 net.
The American Year Book: A Record of Events and Progress, 1916. Edited by F. C. Wickware. Appleton.

RELIGION AND PHILOSOPHY

Argo, F. H. Jesus' Idea. Badger. $1.50 net.
Bishop, A. B. The Divine Adventure. Badger. 75 cents net.
Forbes, W. E. Cycles of Personal Belief. Houghton Mifflin. $1.25 net.
Hall, G. S. Jesus, the Christ, in the Light of Psychology. Two volumes. Doubleday, Page. $7.50 net.
Hutchinson, J. P. Our Obligations to the Day of Rest and Worship. Badger. $1 net.
Mains, G. P. Religious Experience. Abingdon Press. $1.25 net.
Martin, S. A. The Philosophy of Conduct. Badger. $1.50 net.

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Sheldon, F. M. The Bible in Our Modern World. Pilgrim Press. 35 cents.
Sheldon, F. M. Why I Believe in Immortality. Pilgrim Press.
Strain, J. N. The Unpardonable Sin. Badger. $1 net.
Wilson, J. N. Why God Made Man. Badger. $1.50 net.

GOVERNMENT AND ECONOMICS

Davies, G. R. Social Environment. McClurg. 50 cents.
Freund, E. Standards of American Legislation. University of Chicago Press. $1.50 net.
Vanderblue, H. B. Railroad Valuation. Houghton Mifflin. $1.50 net.
Ware, E. E. Political Opinion in Massachusetts During Civil War and Reconstruction. Longmans, Green.
Young, L. E. Mine Taxation in the U. S. Urbana: University of Illinois.

BIOGRAPHY AND HISTORY

Cutler, F. M. The Old First Massachusetts Coast Artillery in War and Peace. Pilgrim Press. $1 net.
Nicolas, R. Campaign Diary of a French Officer. Houghton Mifflin. $1.25 net.
Noble, E. Outposts of the fleet. Houghton Mifflin.
The Hanmers of Marton and Montford Salop. Compiled by Calvert Hanmer. Lane.

POETRY

"X." War Poems. Doubleday, Page. 75 cents net.
Bissonnette, W. S. Poems. Foochow, China: Methodist Publishing House. 40 cents.
Brown, H. W. Elan Vital. Badger. $1 net.
Ficke, A. D. An April Elegy. Mitchell Kennerley, $1.25 net.
Fisher, M. L. Sonnets. Privately printed.
Holley, H. Divinations and Creation. Mitchell Kennerley.
Morton, I. E. Idylls of the Dane. Badger. $1 net.
Palms, C. L. Rhodanthe, or the Rose in the Garden of the Soul's Delight. New York: The Marion Press.
Poems of Heinrich Heine. Selected and translated by L. Untermeyer. Holt. $2 net.
Woodberry, G. E. Ideal Passion-Sonnets. Privately printed.

SCIENCE

Harding, Mrs. E. The Book of the Peony. Lippincott. $6 net.
Newman, H. H. The Biology of Twins. University of Chicago Press. $1.25 net.
Robertson, L., and O'Donnell, T. C. The Healthful House. Good Health Publishing Co.

DRAMA AND MUSIC

Armstrong, A. F. The Play of Life. Badger. $1 net.
Bartholomew, J. H. Two Masques. Badger. $1 net.
Brode, J. L. Within the Gates of Yildiz. Badger. $1.25 net.
Cockran, E. O. Wilderness Rose. Badger. $1 net.
Gooch, F. P. Gerry's Awakening. Badger. $1 net.
Hyde, F. E. Captain of the Host and The Supreme Test. Badger. $1 net.
MacKaye, P. Sinbad. Houghton Mifflin. $1.25 net.
Parker, L. N. The Aristocrat. Lane. $1 net.
Stepniak, S. The New Convert. Translated by T. B. Eyges. Boston: The Stratford Co.
The Dramatic Index for 1916. Boston Book Co.

ART

Porter, A. K. Lombard Architecture. Vols. I and III. Yale University Press.

TEXTBOOKS

Whitney, M. P., and Stroebe, L. L. Brief Course in German. Holt.

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Summary of the News

A PROCLAMATION to the people of the United States was issued by President Wilson on Sunday, appealing in grave and measured terms for coöperation in the war of the whole people, and detailing the special needs which the emergency makes acute. In particular the appeal is addressed to farmers, middlemen of all kinds, railway managers and employees, merchants, shipbuilders and shipyard workers, miners, and the public in general who are in a position to cultivate small gardens or to effect economies in household management.

DIPLOMATIC missions from Great Britain and France are expected in this country, the fact of their dispatch having been announced on April 11. The British mission is headed by Arthur J. Balfour, Foreign Minister and former Premier. M. Viviani, Minister of Justice and former Premier, heads the French mission, which is further distinguished by the inclusion in its personnel of the only bearer of the title Marshal of France.

IN this connection it is entirely appropriate to record two meetings held in London on April 12 to celebrate the entry of America into the war on the side of the Allies. The first, organized by the American Luncheon Club, was presided over by Ambassador Page, the principal speaker being Premier Lloyd George. In welcoming the American nation as comrades in arms, Mr. Lloyd George emphasized particularly the advantages for the future peace of the world of the United States having "won the right to be at the conference table when the terms of peace are discussed." It would have been "a tragedy for mankind if America had not been there." Speaking of the assistance that America could render to the Allies, the British Premier asserted that the road to victory was to be found in one word, "ships." The other meeting was a dinner of the "Pilgrims," presided over by Lord Bryce, in the absence of Mr. Balfour, of which the general tone was expressed in a sentence of Ambassador Page's speech: "I regard it [the closer association of the United States and Great Britain] as the supreme political event of all history, and I have good hope that it will make certain the coöperation of most of the organized human race to prevent the intermittent devastation of the world."

PREPARATIONS for war begin to assume more definite shape. As a first tangible measure the passage in the House on Saturday, by a unanimous vote, of the $7,000,000,000 war loan should help to convince the German Government and people that the United States is in the war whole-heartedly and is able to give coöperation to the Allies that will not be negligible. A second measure seemed to come as a response to the British Premier's cry for ships almost before the cry was uttered. That is the formation by the Shipping Board this week of a $50,000,000 corporation, with power to increase its capital if necessary, to undertake the building of a large fleet of wooden cargo ships to transport supplies to the Allies. The first of these ships, which are to be of 2,000 to 3,000 tons, it is thought, can be ready within a few months, and by the end of a year the fleet should number close on a thousand. By request of President Wilson, Major-Gen. Goethals has undertaken to direct the scheme.

MILITARY preparations do not apparently contemplate the dispatch in the near future of an expeditionary force to Europe, although Col. Roosevelt revived his advocacy of that plan in a letter addressed to Senator Chamberlain and Representative Dent, chairmen respectively of the Senate and the House Military Committees, published in Monday's papers. Meanwhile opposition to the Administration's scheme of compulsory service appears to have gained rather than lost ground in Congress. Independently of the selective draft, however, the War Department appears to have decided on a plan for the voluntary enlistment in the regular army and the National Guard of half a million men "for the duration of the war."

OTHER measures under consideration by Congress include bills authorizing the President to commandeer ships and to take over the control of railway, telegraph, and telephone lines in the United States, drafting the employees into the military service of the country, and the famous Espionage bill, which has created widespread opposition on account of its dangerous tinkering with the freedom of the press. The chairmanship of the new Food Board has been accepted by Herbert C. Hoover. In making known his acceptance Mr. Hoover issued a valuable statement on the question of national economy which we commend to our readers' attention. It was published in the papers of April 12.

LATIN America as a whole has responded to the course set by the United States in a manner to encourage high hopes for the future of Pan-Americanism. Brazil hovers on the brink of a declaration of war. Severance of diplomatic relations with Germany was officially announced on April 11, the sinking of the Brazilian steamship Parana being assigned as the immediate cause. On the following day the Government announced its decision to seize German vessels in Brazilian harbors, a decision which has since been translated into action. Bolivia at the end of last week followed the example of Brazil in breaking relations with Germany, basing its action on German violations of international law and the Hague conventions. From the Governments of the Argentine, Costa Rica, Paraguay, and Uruguay notes have been received expressing agreement and sympathy with the course taken by the United States. In the Argentine, despite the large and influential German population, anti-German sentiment appears daily to grow stronger, and has expressed itself in riots and demands for war. Military preparations have been undertaken by the Government. Strict neutrality is announced as the policy of Chili. The attitude of Peru is uncertain. Dispatches from Guatemala last week stated that martial law had been declared in consequence of disturbances along the Mexican and Salvadorean frontiers.

MEXICO last week was again the source, or the victim, of a crop of rumors regarding the alleged pro-Germanism of its Government. Most serious was the report that Carranza contemplated an embargo on the exportation of oil from the Tampican and Tuxpam fields which would deprive the British navy of essential fuel. Washington dispatches of April

Franklin to His Printer Nephew

April 19, 1917.

My dear Nephew:—

I cannot but regret, in view of the substantial Success of the Press now establish'd at Yale Colledge, that we could not equip the Printing Office as I planned in your Favour at Newhaven.[1]

I am now determin'd from its Success to open a Printing Office at another University. Therefore, that you may prepare yourself to act as Journeyman to us, I should advise a Visit to that Printing House. You will find among its Books many that will serve us for Models.

Give attention to "The Growth of Medicine."[2] Watch how the Printer has heeded the pleasante Character of the Book. The enjoyment of Dr. Buck's Account might have been lost to many a good Layman, had it been buried in the Type of a Treatise.

For choice Conception of a Work of Art, look carefully into the Life of Pontormo.[3] It is, as you will see, distinguish'd by the Beauty of its Type and the Excellence of the Press Work—the latter especially in the Illustrations, which are done both in Sepia and sanguine Ink—and the tasteful Execution of the Binding.

In "A Voice from the Crowd"[4] my Advice will not be requir'd to commend to you the large Type and light Paper. It would not be just to the great Book of a distinguish'd Man to say that its Form accounted for its Sale in three Editions, but it may well have contributed thereto.

Books containing the sort of Reading that People want who enjoy good Biography, History, and sound scientific Information in an attractive Form you will find to be hard to make. It will therefore be well for you to note how this is successfully accomplish'd in some of the Yale Volumes.

I will not describe their Books further, for I might be drawn into extolling the Majority of them (250 Titles!). Only look well into them and admire their Adherence to high standards of Bookmaking. Not all the Rigours of high Costs have avail'd to bring down their Excellence.

Write me as soon as you have been able to look into them, for we shall have much to discuss.

Your affectionate Uncle,

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN.

[1]The Yale University Library has in its possession a letter, dated October 27, 1753, from Benjamin Franklin, to Mr. William Strahan, a London printer, directing him what type to order from Mr. Caslon for this printing-office.

[2]THE GROWTH OF MEDICINE, from the Earliest Times to about 1800. By Albert H. Buck. (Second Printing.) $5.00 net.

[3]PONTORMO. His Life and Work. By Frederick Mortimer Clapp. 153 illustrations. $7.50 net.

[4]A VOICE FROM THE CROWD. By George Wharton Pepper. (Third Printing.) $1.50 net.

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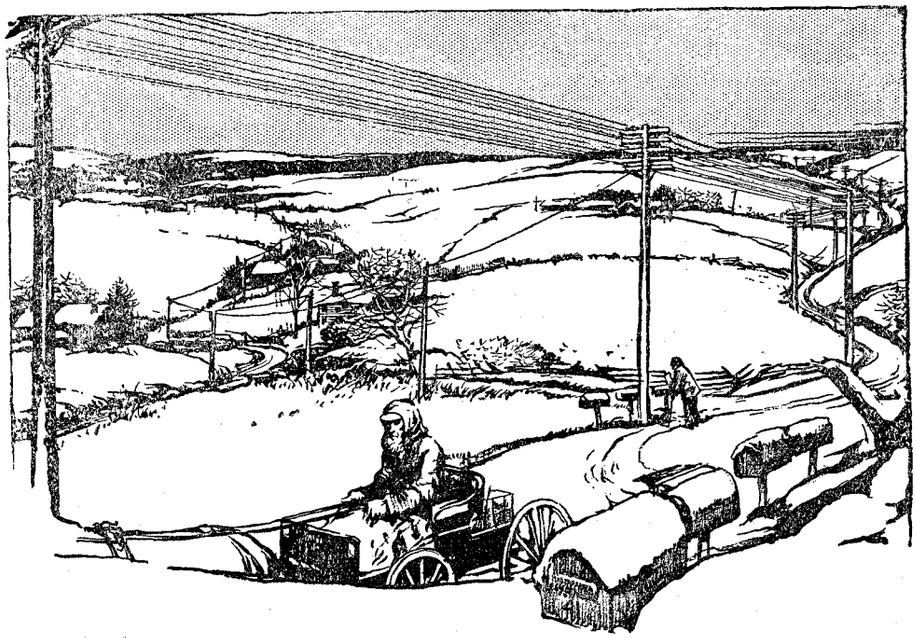
12 stated, however, that definite assurances had been received by the State Department that no such embargo would be placed. The Mexican Congress was opened, after a suspension of more than three years, on Sunday, with the reading of a long message by President Carranza. The maintenance of Mexican neutrality in the world war "at all costs" was announced as the policy of the Government.

BRITISH troops on the western front have continued to smash through the enemy's lines. A second phase of the battle of Arras was inaugurated on Friday of last week, when the Germans were driven back by a new sweep along a twelve-mile front from the Scarpe River to Loos, which brought the British, in the words of the official report, "astride the Hindenburg line." Lievin, a suburb of Lens, was occupied on Saturday, and the occupation of Lens itself is expected at any time. On Monday Gen. Nivelle's forces joined in the general offensive, dealing a smashing blow along a twenty-five-mile front between Soissons and Rheims. Along the whole front the German first-line trenches were taken and in places the French advanced to a depth of two miles. Ten thousand prisoners were captured on Monday.

THE veil of obscurity which had shrouded operations in Mesopotamia for several days was broken for a moment on April 10, when Sir Stanley Maude announced that the Turks were preparing a converging movement against the British between the Adheim and Diala Rivers. The sequel was reported in dispatches of April 14. Gen. Maude apparently ordered a strategic retreat in this region, drawing the Turks on, and then fell on their flank, putting them to rout with a loss of 200 killed and 700 wounded. The Turks were reported to be falling back towards Dely Abbas.

REPORTS from Russia during the past week have served somewhat to elucidate the situation as between the Government and the more extreme Socialists. The Government's declaration disclaiming any desire for territorial aggrandizement as an outcome of the war appears to have satisfied the majority of the Socialist groups. Resolutions adopted at the Congress of District Councils of Workmen's and Soldiers' Deputies, in session at Petrograd last week, showed an overwhelming majority against the small group which is in favor of taking steps towards an early conclusion of peace, while the Party of the Fatherland and the Army, which includes most of the members of the Petrograd garrison, last week passed a resolution urging "the continuance of the war to a victorious conclusion, namely, a peace restoring the ancient frontiers of Russia and free Poland, including the German and Russian territory," and asserting that "a peace without the consent of the Allies would be shameful." Regarding German-made rumors of meetings of Russian and German Socialists in Copenhagen, an official statement issued by the Executive Committee of the Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Deputies denies that any delegates have been sent to such a conference by the Russian Socialist party.

SUBMARINES or mines during the week ending April 8 sank 17 British vessels of more and 2 of less than 1,600 tons. Arrivals in British ports were 2,406; sailings, 2,367.



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